

**THE TOTTERNHOE SCHOOL
OF MASONS, *c.1567-c.1618***

**A MIDLAND STONE-CARVING WORKSHOP PRODUCING
FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN THE DUTCH STYLE**

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INVENTORY, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, AND PLATES

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1. Inventory of monuments and structures

This inventory is arranged in alphabetical order, by location, and is in note form for the most part. The content and detail of each entry varies according to its importance and the need to free the main text from lengthy descriptions. It is not intended to provide a fully detailed description in each case, and the items on the Mordaunt tombs at Turvey, Bedfordshire, are exceptionally long because of their central place in the work of the Totternhoe School.

ALDGATE (ST BOTOLPH WITHOUT ALDGATE), LONDON

Tomb of Sir Thomas Darcy (lord Darcy of the North), d.1537, and others (Plate 82)

An alabaster wall monument repositioned under the tower. Small recumbent cadaver, shrouded and in the agonies of death, lying on a long sarcophagus, set within a frame flanked by cabled and fluted corinthian columns. Below are two panels with oval shields on strapwork, surrounded by ribbons, supported on consoles enriched with fish-scale designs. Back-panel with inscription. Entablature with arabesques, including three broken and crossed lances, and with nine coffers containing more broken lances and stags' heads. Above this is an upper storey in the form of a plain aedicule, containing a circular panel carved with an achievement, with a rosette in each corner. The tympanum in the pediment contains a stylised shell motif.

Inscription:

HERE LIETH THOMAS LORDE DARCY OF THE NORthe AND SVMTYME
OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER SIR NICHOLAS CARREW KNIGHT
SVMTYME OF THE GARTER AND LADY ELIZABETH CARREW
DAVGHTER TO SIR THOMAS BRIAN KNIGHT AND SIR ARTHVR DARCY
KNIGHT YONGER SONNE TO THE ABOVE NAMED LORDE DARCY AND
LADY MARY DARCY HIS DERE WIF DAVGHTER TO SIR NICHOLAS
CARREW WHO HAD TENNE SONNES AND FIVE DAVGHTERS. HERE
LIETH CHARLES WILLM AND PHILLIP MARY AND VRSVLLY SONNES
AND DAVGHTERS TO THE SAID SIR ARTHVR AND MARY HIS WIFE
WHOSE SOWLES GOD TAKE TO HIS INFINITE MERCY AMEN

There is a general similarity to some of the plates in *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*.¹ The oval shields are comparable to those on the alabaster monuments at Marston Moretaine and Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

This memorial would appear to be the work of a Dutch immigrant sculptor working in London, its design being similar to the tomb of Count Borgnival in Breda (particularly the upper part), and *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien* (Plate 70). Its chief interest lies in that it was probably put up by the surviving children of Sir Arthur Darcy and Mary Carew, namely Thomas Darcy (of Hornby Castle, Yorkshire, married to Elizabeth Conyers), Elizabeth Darcy (married to Lewis, third lord Mordaunt of Turvey, Bedfordshire) and Henry Darcy.² The first two clearly had an interest in the monuments at Hornby and Turvey (q.v.).

Thomas Darcy was first buried at the Crutched Friars, London, after his execution in 1537, following his participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace.³ Charles, William, Philip, Mary and Ursula were all dead by the time of the Visitation of Yorkshire in 1563-4, and a sixth child, Jane, was also dead, although this is not mentioned on the inscription.⁴ At face value, this places the monument in the early 1560s, which agrees with Nikolaus Pevsner's assessment, but it could equally well date to the 1570s.

APETHORPE HALL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The *Virtute non vi* chimney piece, 1562 (Plate 99)

Stone chimney piece in what is now the dining room, with a central rectangular panel containing a Latin inscription, flanked by very narrow panels with shields and carvings in low relief. These are separated by two small ionic pilasters. At the sides, pilasters run the full height, the lower parts decorated with lunettes and circles, and the upper parts tapering with ionic caps.

The central panel has a Latin inscription beginning VIRTUTE NON VI, and is dated 1562. It bears the initials W.M. for Walter Mildmay (q.v.), and is comparable to the example in the Haynes Grange Room, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

Sir John Summerson has grouped this chimney piece with the *Amicus fidelis protexio fortis* chimney piece at Deene Park, Northamptonshire (q.v.), and with the porch at Dingley Hall,

Northamptonshire, of 1558, and with the porch at Deene Park of the 1560s. He has also speculatively attributed them all to the Thorpe family of Kingscliffe.⁵

APPLETON (ST LAWRENCE) BERKSHIRE

Tomb of Sir John Fettiplace, d.1580, erected 1593 (Plate 95)

This stone wall monument is built into the south wall of the chancel. It has the recumbent effigy of a man in armour, set into a recess, surrounded by a roughly square classical frame. Fluted and cabled corinthian columns stand to each side, supported on consoles. Confident entablature with dentil cornice, carrying a very solid achievement on heavy strapwork, flanked by obelisks. On the broad flat surface under the entablature is carved a large rectangular strapwork design. Back panel with inscription, strapwork, putti and symbols.

Inscription:

ANNO DOMINI 1593. IACET HIC OPTIME LECTOR SVB SPE BEATÆ
RESVRRECTIONIS REPOSITVM CORPVS IOHANNIS FETIPLACE MILITIS
QVO VT PATRIÆ NON FVIT STVDIOSIOR ITA NEC CHARIOR ALTER BIS
MATRIMONIO IVNCTVS FVIT. EX PRIMA CONIVGE ELIZABETHA FILIA
ANTHONII HVNGERFORD MILITIS QVATVOR SVSCEPIT FILIOS ET TRES
FILIAS, BESILIVM, RICHARDVM, ROBERTVM, EGIDIVM, DOROTHEAM,
MARGARETAM, ATQVE IANAM. BESILIVS FILVS NATV MAXIMVS IN
VXOREM DVXIT HELINORAM FILIAM RICHARDI COVERT ARMIGERI EX
QVA GENVIT SEX FILIOS ET QVINQVE FILIAS, RICARDVM, EDVARDVM,
THOMAM, MICHAЕLEM, IOHANNEM, GVILIELMVM, IANAM, MARIAM,
EDITHAM, ELIZABETHAM, ATQVE CECILIAM. RICHARDVS BESILII
FILIVS DVXIT IN VXOREM HELINORAM FILIAM HENRICI POOLE MILITIS
EX QVA GENVIT FILVM IOHANNEM IAM QVATVOR ANNOS NATVM
MARIA ET ELIZABETHA OBIERE INFANTES, RELIQVA BESILII PROLES,
AC RICHARDVS EORVM PATRVVS VIVVNT ADHVC CÆTERI IOHANNIS
LIBERI OBIERE CÆLIBES ET PLERIQVE PVERI. EX SECVNDA CONIVGE
IANA FILIA IOHANNIS COVERT ARMIGERI VNICAM GENVIT FILIOLAM
MARGARETAM, CVIVS INTACTVM CORPVS HIC QVOQVE SEPVLTVM
IACET, IPSE IOHANNES FETIPLACE EX HAC VITA DISCESSIT 28 DIE
DECEMB: 1580. INSIGNE RELINQVENS TROPÆVM POSTERIS SVIS FAMÆ
PVRE VITÆ INTEGRÆ, ET AMORIS IN PATRIAM, CVIVS SVBITAM ATQVE
INTEMPESTIVAM MORTEM ACCVSAT VICINVS LACHRYMATVR VIDVA,
DEPLORAT PAVPER, QVERVNTER OMNES. BESILIVS FETIPLACE, FILIVS
EIVS, HOC ILLI [sic] DE SE OPTIME MERITO, ET PIO PARENTI PIETATIS
ERGO, MONVMENTVM POSVIT ANNO DOMINI 1593.
MIHI EST CHRISTVS ET IN VITA ET IN MORTE LVCRV[M].
TEMPORA QVI LONGE SPERAS FÆLICIA VITÆ SPES TVA FRVSTRATA
EST EN TIBI TESTIS EGO.
FVI QVOD ES, ERIS QVOD SVM.

Translation:

The Year of Our Lord 1593. Here good reader, in the hope of blessed resurrection, lies the body of John Fettiplace, knight. None was more devoted to his country than he, nor was any more dearly beloved. He married twice. From his first wife, Elizabeth daughter of Anthony Hungerford, knight, he begot four sons and three daughters, Bessels, Richard, Robert, Egidius, Dorothy, Margaret and Jane. His eldest son Bessels married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Covert esquire, from whom he begot six sons and five daughters, Richard, Edward, Thomas, Michael, John, William, Jane, Mary, Edith, Elizabeth and Cecily. Bessel's son Richard married Eleanor daughter of Henry Poole, knight, from whom he begot a son, John, now four years old. Mary and Elizabeth died in infancy. The rest of Bessel's children and their uncle Richard are still living. John's other children died unmarried, as did the majority of his sons by his second wife Jane, daughter of John Covert esquire. She bore him a single daughter, the little girl Margaret whose chaste body also lies buried here. John Fettiplace himself departed this life the 28 day of December 1580, leaving to his descendants the notable memorial of his untarnished reputation, blameless life and patriotism. The whole neighbourhood regrets his sudden and untimely death, his widow grieves for it, the poor bewail it, everyone laments it. His son Bessels Fettiplace set up this monument to commemorate the duty done by one who was a dutiful parent, to whom his son was deeply indebted, in the Year of Our Lord 1593.

For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain [The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians, 1, 21]

You hope for a long and happy life: I can testify that your hope is in vain.

I was what you are. You will be what I am.

The back panel is an exact copy, albeit compressed into a squarer panel, of the title page of Hieronymus Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* of 1563 (Plates 74-5).⁶ In style and general appearance, the character of the inscription is comparable to those of the 1570s or early 1580s on the monuments at Hillesden, Hornby and Chicheley (q.v.), and it is also akin to that at Ickford, Buckinghamshire of c.1595 (q.v.). While the armour differs in a number of details, the effigy has an overall similarity to those of John Thomson at Husborne Crawley, and Lewis Dyve at Bromham (q.v.), notably the style of the hair and beard.

John Fettiplace provides an important link between the Coverts (who employed the tomb-maker William Flint) and the Mordaunts (q.v.). Several elements here can be traced back to the earlier monuments at Fawsley, Chicheley, Hornby, Hillesden and Turvey (q.v.), and the fact that all these monuments derive something from *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* should be noted. However, apart from the effigy, the overall style of the Appleton

memorial is distinct from those at Marston Moretaine, Husborne Crawley, Bromham and Turvey (q.v.), all of which date to the 1590s.

BOSBURY (HOLY TRINITY) HEREFORDSHIRE

Tomb of John Harford, d.1559 (Plate 94b)

An aedicule made by the sculptor John Gildon of Hereford, with strong Italian overtones, containing an arched recess in the wall and a sarcophagus with a male effigy. Two detached fluted corinthian columns support an entablature with an inscription. The spandrels are decorated with leaves in low relief, and the back panel is decorated with shields and vases of flowers. The sarcophagus stands on two lions.

The main inscriptions read:

TUMULUS JOANIS HARFORDI QUEM SIBI SUUS FILIUS EREXIT
RICHARDUS ANNO DOMINI 1573⁷

It is also signed, as follows:

IOHN GULDO OF HEREFORD MADE THIS TOMBE WTH HIS OWNE HANDE
ANO DNI 1573

Richard Harford employed the sculptor, John Gildon of Hereford, to make this tomb for his father, John Harford, in 1573, and he also employed Gildon to make his own tomb before 1575 (q.v.).⁸

BOSBURY (HOLY TRINITY) HEREFORDSHIRE

Tomb of Richard Harford, d.1576, and other members of his family (Plate 94a)

A tomb almost certainly carved by John Gildon of Hereford.⁹ Recess in wall with semicircular arch, containing a sarcophagus with a male and female effigy. To the sides are figures of Adam and Eve,¹⁰ on tall pedestals, supporting leafy capitals. The spandrels are decorated with human faces in low relief with vines sprouting from their mouths, and the back panel has shields and foliage. The segmental pediment is also decorated with leaves.

The inscription reads:

Hic iacet Ricardus Harford Huius Parrochia de Bosbury Armiger Ex (sic) Martha uxor eius filia Caroli Fox de Bromfield in Comitatu Salop Ad qui obierunt Anno 1578 et ex juxta iacet Anthonius Harford Armiger.¹¹

Richard Harford's will, written in August 1575, reads:

"And my bodie to be buried in the Chauncell of the parishe churche of Bosbury...in the tombe which I have of late made there for me and my wife."¹²

BRINGTON: SEE GREAT BRINGTON

BROMHAM (ST OWEN), BEDFORDSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Lewis Dyve, d.1592 (Plate 11)

A substantial five-poster tomb and canopy of alabaster standing against the north wall of the north aisle. The plinth has a male effigy in armour lying on a rush mat. Five ionic columns rise from tall pedestals or pilasters projecting from the sides of the plinth, to support a flat canopy and entablature with two strapwork cartouches above. There is no inscription.

Lewis Dyve's will says:

"I will my bodie to be buried in the north Ile of the parish churche of Bromeham...an theare mine Exequtors to make an honeste decente tombe of alablaster with my picture and armes thereon if I die in suche place that I maie convenientlie be broughte thither, or elles in such other parishe churche within w^{ch} parishe it shall please God that I shall ende this my naturall lief. And I will my funerall to be donn after [?] honeste and a decente sorte with a funerall sermon and without anie great pompe or sumptuousnes by discretion of John Dive my sonn..¹³

The parish register records his burial in 1592.¹⁴

Lysons incorrectly attributed the tomb to "John Dyve esq. who married a Walcot."¹⁵ He was right insofar as John Dyve's second wife was a Walcot, but her arms were merely added to Lewis's tomb as an advertisement of a prestigious alliance. Pevsner and the church

guidebook date the tomb to 1603 on the basis of a timber shield on the wall-plate above, with the initials IBD 1603, presumably for John and Beatrice Dyve.¹⁶

This monument is very similar in appearance to the alabaster monuments of Thomas Snagge at Marston Moretaine, and John Thompson at Husborne Crawley (q.v.). It is also derived from the monument of John, second lord Mordaunt at Turvey (q.v.), and it owes something to the tomb of Sir John Throckmorton at Coughton, Warwickshire (q.v.). There is no evidence that it had ever had an inscription, or any references to Dyve's late wife or children.

BURFORD (ST JOHN BAPTIST) OXFORDSHIRE

Cenotaph of Edmund Harman, d.1577, dated 1569 (Plate 100b)

Classical aedicule built against the north wall of the nave, dominated by an inscription and back-panel containing strapwork, flanked by small corinthian columns. The predella has three attached ionic columns, between which are two recessed panels carved with kneeling children in relief, and the pediment contains an achievement.

The achievement is dated 1569, and the Latin inscription also contains the date 1569, so it was apparently erected during Harman's lifetime. He was actually buried with his second wife at Taynton, Oxfordshire, in 1577.¹⁷ The letters EHA are carved onto the blocks above the ionic columns, presumably representing Edmund and Agnes Harman.

Harman's cenotaph has been the subject of much discussion, principally by Michael Balfour¹⁸ Nigel Llewellyn,¹⁹ and Anthony Wells-Cole.²⁰ They have established that the strapwork panel is based on an engraving by Cornelis Bos, and have speculated about the imagery carved on the monument, particularly the representation of North American Indians.

A copy of this monument survives to the memory of Thomas Tipping at Ickford, Buckinghamshire (q.v.). Although the Burford tomb is not a direct product of the Totternhoe School, Harman had connections with the Norris and Ward families of Berkshire (q.v.).

CAMBRIDGE

The Gate of Virtue, Gonville and Caius College (detail, Plate 90)

One of three gates, and a part of various new buildings, mainly erected by the Master of Gonville and Caius College, Dr John Caius, in the 1560s and 1570s. Although the Gate of Virtue bears the date 1567, it was not finished until 1569.²¹

The Gate of Virtue is a three storey structure, rectangular on plan, the chief interest of which is the ground storey. This consists of a triumphal arch flanked by ionic pilasters, with female figures of Fame and Plenty in the spandrels. The arch springs from corinthian colonnettes, and is decorated with bead-and-reel. The figures and the design of the arch are comparable to the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

CAMBRIDGE

Tomb of Dr John Caius, d.1573, The Chapel, Gonville and Caius College (Plate 92)

An alabaster tomb now fixed to the wall, consisting of a curvaceous gadrooned sarcophagus within a five-post structure. This has corinthian columns rising from pedestals, and supports a rich entablature and canopy adorned with egg and dart. This is crowned by four small pediments with acroteria, alternating with blocks or pedestals. The tomb is decorated with paint, gilding, and some inlaid stone.

The main inscriptions read:

FVI CAIUS (on the back panel)

VIVIT POST FVNERA VIRTUS (on the frieze)²²

Further inscriptions on the front of the tomb, suggest, from their present order, that they were misplaced when the tomb was moved to its present position: (1) Aetatis suae LXIII, and (2) Obiit XXIX Julii Anno D 1573.²³

John Caius ordered the construction of a "sepulchrum concameratum"²⁴ in July 1573, shortly before his death. It was carved by "Theodore and others" by 1575,²⁵ at a cost of £47 4s 8d.²⁶ This is normally assumed to be Theodore Haveus, an immigrant from the

Duchy of Cleves, who made a sundial for the college in 1576, and a coat of arms for Queen's College in 1576.²⁷

The repeated use of small pediments bears a similarity to an illustration in *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi....* (Plate 57).

CHICHELEY (ST LAURENCE), BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Anthony Cave, d.1558, erected 1576 (Plate 5)

A group of three structures dominated by an aedicule of Totternhoe stone built against the north wall of the north aisle, with a small cadaver lying on a curvaceous sarcophagus. Two caryatides on tall pedestals support an entablature and pediment decorated with triglyphs and paterae. To the sides are cabrioles with clawed feet. The back panel has kneeling children in relief, and a cartouche containing the inscription:

FOR THE GOOD MEMORIE OF
HER DEER HUSBANDE ANTONIE
CAVE ESQVIER WHICH DIED THE
NINTHE DAYE OF SEPTEMBER ANO
DNI 1558 HIS MYNDEFVL AND LOVING
WIFE ELIZABETH HATHE ERECT
ED TO POSTERITIE THIS MONVME
NTE ANO DNI 1576

Anthony Cave's will, written in 1555, provided for his burial

"without any sumptuous pompe...Thenne I woulde my said bodie shulde be buried in Chicheley church on the northe side nere the upper end of the Isle and nere the wall, and woulde for a godly and charitable remembrance a gravestone of no greate value shulde be laide on me, and to be graven therin thaccustomed remembrance of the yeare, deathe and tyme..."

In addition, he arranged for

"a picture of Death upon the wall, right over the grave, Over the whiche picture I wille shalbe graven thies sentences following, bothe in englishe and laten. Vos qui transitis memores nostri esse velitis. Quod summis eritis quandoque quod estis, et lege et plege, et nihil terrebilis inventris quam veniere meo statu in quo mori times."²⁸

This was translated on the wall tablet, somewhat loosely, as follows:

All ye that passe hereby
 Ye may se wher I lye
 Sone gon soner forgotten
 So shalt [th]ou be that com after
 Wherfor Remember and Remember againe.

A shrouded skeleton, rather than a picture of Death as such, was displayed in brass under the Latin and English text. In addition, the floor slab carried brass figures of Anthony and Elizabeth, with the following inscription:

Hic iacet Anthonius Cave, armiger, quondam Mercator Stapule Calicie,
 dominus de Chicheley, qui obiit nono die Septembris Anno Domini Millesimo
 CCCCC^o Lvij^o, Cuius animae propicietur deus, amen.²⁹

The floor slab and wall tablet were overshadowed by the monument erected by Anthony's widow (Elizabeth Lovet, q.v.) in 1576. Many details, notably the moulding profiles, the lettering in the inscription, and the design of the cabrioles and sarcophagus, suggest that this monument is closely related to those at Hillesden, Fawsley, Turvey and Hornby (all q.v.). It also appears to be derived from the engravings of Hieronymus Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, (Plate 54, cadaver and lower aedicule with caryatides), (Plate 56, cadaver), (Plate 63, cadaver), and *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, (Plate 65 & 67, cadavers). The heads in profile flanking the inscription panel are similar to the smaller versions on the Cromwell tomb at Launde Abbey, Leicestershire (q.v.).

Note that the inscription is squeezed awkwardly behind the small effigy on the sarcophagus, suggesting bad planning or a change of mind during construction. Note also that the six kneeling female children and two male children are not all accounted for in the historical record. Three daughters are mentioned in the wills of Anthony Cave and Elizabeth Lovet,³⁰ but no sons are recorded. Some children may have died young, and it is possible that Elizabeth included children from her other marriages (cf. the tomb of John Thomson at Husborne Crawley and the entry for Dorothy Gilbert in the Biographical Notes).

CHICHELEY (ST LAURENCE), BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Anthony Chester and his wife, d.1637 and 1629 respectively (Plate 110)

Wall monument of Totternhoe stone, consisting of a heavy canopy supported on corinthian columns. The base has two pedestals built into the corners, and is decorated with husks, skulls, hourglasses, and a strapwork inscription. On this stands an overhanging slab of Purbeck marble, and two small kneeling figures facing each other across a prayer desk. The back panel contains another inscription with strapwork, and the frieze above is decorated with fruit and armorial devices. The three achievements above are supported by very heavy strapwork.

Although some fifty or sixty years later than the Cave monument in the same aisle, this tomb has a number of features which are stylistically reminiscent of the examples at Hillesden (Alexander Denton) and Tilsworth (Gabriel Fowler), q.v..

COUGHTON COURT (PARISH CHURCH OF ST PETER), WARWICKSHIRE

1. Tomb of Sir John Throckmorton, d.1580, and his wife, Margery Puttenham (Plate 114)

Large canopied five-poster tomb in the south-east corner of the chancel. Base with elongated pedestals like pilasters, decorated with carvings of kneeling children in relief. Five cabled and fluted Corinthian columns, two life size effigies. Entablature and frieze enriched with stylised flowers. Above this is a massive upper storey or attic, almost like a wall, bearing large shields interspersed with terms. There is no inscription.

In concept and design the tomb is rather like the five-poster monuments of Lewis Dyve at Bromham, John Thomson at Husborne Crawley, and Thomas Snagge at Marston Moretaine (q.v.), all of which are in Bedfordshire. The likeness is increased considerably if the upper storey or attic at Coughton is mentally erased.

Sir John Throckmorton cannot be directly connected with any other people in the mainstream of families under discussion in this thesis, but his elder brother, Sir Robert Throckmorton (q.v.), who outlived him by six years, was connected with the first lord Mordaunt (q.v.), Thomas Tresham (q.v.) and indirectly to Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.).

2. Fragment from tomb of Dame Elizabeth Throckmorton, last Abbess of Denny Abbey, Cambridgeshire, d.1547

A brass inscription re-fixed to the altar tomb of Sir Robert Throckmorton, eighth baronet, d.1862, on the north side of the chancel. Contained in the inscription are the words:

☛ Vivit post funera v[ir]tus³¹

The same phrase was used on the tombs of John Caius at Cambridge (q.v.) and Thomas Linacre in old St Pauls Cathedral, London (q.v.), and was also used by Thomas Denton (q.v.). Dame Elizabeth was the aunt of Sir George Throckmorton (Appendix 8).

DEENE PARK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The *Amicus fidelis protexio fortis* chimney piece, dated 1571 (Plate 98)

Chimney piece, now in the Great Hall, consisting of a square panel containing an achievement, flanked by two narrower panels containing shields. They are separated from each other by two moulded pilasters. Two more pilasters run throughout the full height at the sides, enriched with trophies and lunettes. A band runs across the middle. A strong sense of depth is created by stepping successively narrower pilasters out from the wall. The piece dates from the time of Sir Edmund Brudenell (q.v.).

Across the top of the chimney piece are the words AMICUS FIDELIS PROTEXIO FORTIS. The date 1571 appears twice, in strapwork cartouches above the two outer shields mentioned above.

Sir John Summerson has grouped this chimney piece with the *Virtute non vi* chimney piece of 1562 at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire (q.v.), and with the porch at Dingley Hall, Northamptonshire, of 1558, and with the porch at Deene Park of the 1560s. He has also speculatively attributed them all to the Thorpe family of Kingscliffe, Northamptonshire.³²

The trophy panels on the Deene chimney piece are very similar to those found on the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.). Further similarities may be seen between the two small strapwork cartouches bearing the date 1571 and the frames on the tomb of John Thomson at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (q.v.). The tripartite design is

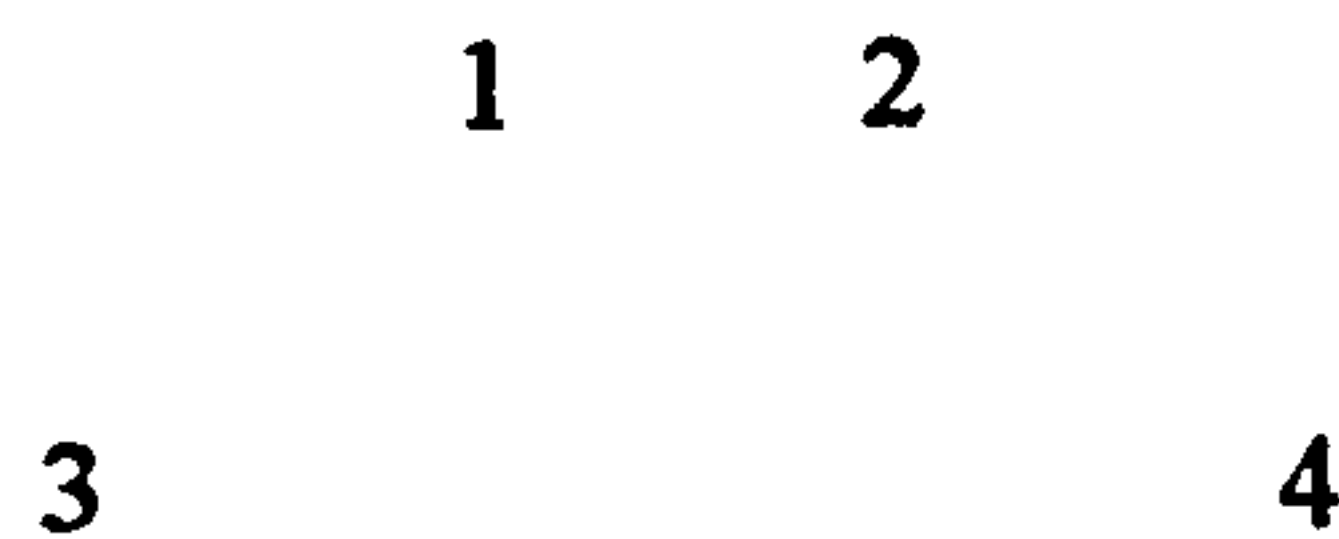
also similar in concept to that of a chimney piece formerly in the royal palace at Enfield, Middlesex.³³

FAWSLEY (ST MARY) NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Valentine Knightley, d.1566, and later members of the Knightley family (Plate 8)

Substantial monument of Totternhoe stone built against the north wall of the north aisle. The lower part is in three large panels, the central one with a small effigy on a ledge supported by brackets, and with two inscriptions flanking an achievement. The two outer panels have inscriptions and cartouches, doric antae, and cabrioles with clawed feet. Two terms on pedestals stand forward in the centre, supporting a large gadrooned upper sarcophagus upon which are two putti. This is topped by a pediment with acroteria.

The inscriptions describe numerous Knightleys, the text in four tall black-painted panels which have been added to the monument in the following chronological pattern:



In brief, the people described on these panels are as follows:

1. Sir Valentine Knightley (d.1566), his wife Anne Ferrers (d.1554) and their seven children.
2. Mary Fermor (d.1573), wife of Sir Richard Knightley and their six children.
3. Sir Richard Knightley (d.1615), his second wife Elizabeth Seymour (d.1602) and their nine children.
4. Sir Valentine Knightley (d.1618), his wife Anne Unton, and Sir Francis Knightley (d.1619).

In detail, the texts are:

1. Heare lieth/Sir Valentyne Knightley/of Fawesley Knt who deceased/this life the viii day of Maye/Ano Dni 1566. Also heare/ lieth Anne Knyghtley the wife/ of Sir Valentyne Knyghtley/Knyght and daughter of Sir/Edward Ferrers

of Badesley in/County of Warricke Knight/which Anne departed this/life the xii day of December/Anno Dni 1554/Sir Valentyne by Anne his wife/ had sonnes Richard Edmunde/Thomas Edward and Iohn, and/daughters Constance and /Anne.

2. Heare lieth/Mary Knyghtley, wife of/Sir Richard Knyghtley/of Fawesley Knight, and/the daughter of Richard/Farmer of Easton Esqr/which Mary departed/this life the xxviith daye/of September Anno Dni/1573 - Sir Richard/and Mary his wife had/sonnes Valentyne Edward/and Jerome and daughters/Constance Dorothy/and Mary.

3. Heare also lieth the Bodie of/Sir Richard Knyghtley Knt who departed/this life the 1st daye of September 1615/He was eldest sonne of the above named/Sir Valentyne Knyghtley and Husbande/of the aforesayde Mary Farmer - he marryed/iindly the Ladye Eliz: Seymour youngeste/daughter of the high and Myghtie Prince/Edward Duke of Somerset late Protector/of Englande and uncle to King Edward vi/by which Ladye Eliz he had sonnes Seymour/Ferdinando Dudley Iohn Nathaniel Robert and/Francis and ii daughters. She died the iii/ of June 1602 at Norton in this county where/a faire Monument is raised to her Memory.

4. Heare lieth interred/Sir Valentyne Knyghtley Knt; eldest sonne/and heir of Sir Richard Knyghtley Knt; by/ Mary Farmer his ist wife - He marryed Anne/eldest daughter of Sir Edward Unton of/Wadley in the County of Berks, Knight of the/noble order of the Bath by Anne Countess of/Warricke and had issue iii daughters. He departed/this life Dece: viith 1618 - In the same Vault lie/also the remains of Sir Francis Knyghtley/youngeste sonne of Sir Richard Knyghtley by/his iind wife The Ladye Elizabeth Seymour/he was Cup-bearer to his Majesty King James/and departed this life at Fawesley feb iiird/Anno Dni 1619.

Many details, notably the moulding profiles and the design of the cabrioles, suggest that this monument is closely related to those at Hillesden, Chicheley, Turvey and Hornby (all q.v.). It also appears to be derived from the engravings of Hieronymus Cock and Cornelis Floris, referenced below.

The four inscriptions could have been cut any time after 1566, 1573, 1615 and 1619 respectively, but close examination of their Gothic lettering suggests that they form two pairs (1 & 2) and (3 & 4). Logically, their arrangement in balanced pairs also suggests that the first two are both later than 1573, and that the second two are both later than 1619. The central achievement contains the arms of Knightley, the left hand cartouche contains Knightley impaled with Ferrers, and the right hand cartouche contains Knightley impaled with Fermor. This is consistent with the information in the first pair of (post 1573) inscriptions, but has nothing to do with the second pair. The very existence of the Fermor arms on the tomb also suggests that the monument was erected after 1573, by Sir Richard

Knightley, as a joint monument for his parents and his first wife, but it is just possible that the Fermor arms were incorporated on a pre-1573 monument as evidence of an additional alliance of importance. If so, this would have allowed Sir Richard to add the first pair of inscriptions as though the monument had been intended to include his wife from the start.

The sources for this monument are *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, (Plate 64 putti), (Plate 53 whole of lower order, including terms and central aedicule, upper sarcophagus, putti, scrolled brackets, and strapwork on frieze of upper order), (Plate 61, generally, upper sarcophagus with putti), and *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, (Plates 65, 68, 69, & 71-2, putti). *Le Triumphe d'Anvers* is also relevant, note plates F and Hiiii (male figures facing outward on upper storey).

FOTHERINGHAY (ST MARY AND ALL SAINTS) NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Tombs of Edward, second Duke of York, d.1415, and Richard, third Duke of York, d.1460 (detail, Plate 104)

Two nearly identical tombs facing each other on the north and south sides of what is now the chancel. They are made of a mixture of limestone and Totternhoe stone, and have a solid, blocky design, without effigies. Each has fluted and cabled corinthian columns (the central one omitted, although its pedestal remains as a mannerist device) rising to a cornice, framing the arms of the deceased on a background of strapwork. The cornice is capped by a miniature semicircular pediment.³⁴ There are no surviving inscriptions.

In 1573 Queen Elizabeth visited Fotheringhay,³⁵ and

"professed herself shocked at the desecrated and despoiled tombs of the royal dukes of York, Edward and Richard, and of Ciceley Nevil, Richard's wife. She ordered the disinterment of the bodies from amid the ruins of the quire, and their re-burial at the east end of the parish church, with monuments over them, which Camden...described as "very mean for such great princes, descended from kings, and from whom the kings of England are descended."

Bonney noted that the tombs formerly had Latin inscriptions, and that the queen specifically instructed her treasurer to erect the monuments.³⁶ A commission of four Northamptonshire gentlemen was instructed to inquire into the future of the collegiate church and the restoration of the tombs, but no contract for the work survives. Anthony Mildmay and William Cecil bought reclaimed materials from the church, and the masons William

Grumbold and Thomas Hayward were involved, but there is no evidence that they carved the monuments.³⁷

The central heraldic panels may be based on an engraving from the title of a map published by Abraham Ortelius in Antwerp in 1573.³⁸ The carving is comparable to the work on the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.), namely the grotesque faces on the strapwork (cf. the faces on the pedestals at Turvey), the heraldic falcons (cf. the Mordaunt eagles), the leaves at the top of the strapwork (cf. the palm leaves held by the femal figures on the Mordaunt tomb, and on the trophies flanking its arch) and the stepped-out entablature and the paired detached columns (again, cf. the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt). Further similarities occur with the tomb of the second Lord Mordaunt, also at Turvey, particularly in the small human heads (cf. those on the bands of Mordaunt's sarcophagus) and the festoons of fruit (cf. the sides of the same sarcophagus). Finally, the strapwork has elements similar to the panels on the tombs of Thomas Snagge at Marston-Moretaine, Bedfordshire, and John Thompson at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire.³⁹

GREAT BRINGTON (ST MARY) NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1. Tomb of Sir John Spencer, d.1586 (Plate 118)

2. Tomb of Robert, first lord Spencer, and his wife, 1599 (Plate 119)

These tombs were made by the Hollemans family of Burton-upon-Trent in the 1580s and 1590s,⁴⁰ and they form only part of the collection of monuments in the Spencer Chapel. Their chief interest lies in the tomb of Sir John Spencer (d.1586) and the tomb of Robert, first lord Spencer.

The tomb of John Spencer consists of two alabaster effigies on a tomb chest, under a substantial semicircular coffered canopy, above which is a steep triangular pediment. There are four obelisks on pedestals to the corners. The monument is decorated with shields, strapwork, arabesques, and has paterae in the frieze of the entablature. There is a general similarity to the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

The tomb of Robert Spencer and his wife consists of two effigies on a painted tomb-chest, the female effigy draped with a pall bearing a heraldic design. The analogy is indirect, but this reference may be inspired by *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* (Plate 55).

HAMBLEMEN (ST MARY), BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Ralph Scrope, d.1572 (Plate 107d)

Small mural monument, now on the south wall of the tower. Aedicule with ionic columns, large inscription panel and three shields. The pediment is oddly cranked to accommodate an achievement. The frieze is enriched with a vitruvian scroll.

The inscription is as follows:

HERE LYETHE RAFFE SCROPE ESQVER
COSIN VNT0 HENRY LORD SCROPE OF BOL
TON BENCHER IN LINCOLVS (sic) IN AND OF THE
BARE WHICHE MARED LADYE ELYZABETHE
PAVLET DAVGHTER VNT0 WILLAM LORD WE
NDESOR BY WHOME HE HAD ISSVE THRE SON
NES AND ONE DAVGHTER AND DIED THE 28
DAY OF NOVEMBER 1572 WHOS SOLE GOD TAKE
TO HEIS MERSY A MEN

Paul Drury has suggested that this monument may be an early piece by the same *atelier* that produced the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.).⁴¹ It has also been discussed by Nigel Llewellyn, who has pointed out the way in which the architectural rules have, literally, been bent in order to accommodate heraldry as a main feature.⁴²

The style of pediment is not repeated elsewhere, the inscription is very crude, and the slashed shields do not conform to the more commonly found examples on other monuments of the Totternhoe School.

HARDMEAD (ST MARY) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Francis Catesby, d.1636 (Plate 124)

Mural monument with miniature effigy and kneeling figures in relief, set into a square recess, flanked by stacks of books and two small corinthian columns. Above this is an over-sized broken-apex segmental pediment carved with an achievement and faces.

The effigy and kneeling figures are comparable to those in the monument of Anthony Cave, in the adjacent parish of Chicheley, Buckinghamshire (q.v.) some sixty years earlier.

Pevsner has compared this monument with that of Dr Bodley at Merton College, Oxford, 1615, and of Sir Henry Yelverton, d.1631, at Easton Mauduit, Northamptonshire.⁴³

The Catesbys were intermarried with the Dormers of Wing (q.v.) and the Osbornes of Chicksands (q.v.). Dorothy Catesby married Sir William Dormer, son of Sir Robert Dormer,⁴⁴ and Anne Catesby, sister of Francis Catesby, married Anthony Osborne.⁴⁵

HAYNES, BEDFORDSHIRE

The Haynes Grange Room, ?1570s (Plates 101-2 & 130-1)

Unpainted pine interior, consisting of a complete room with corinthian pilasters rising full height. Two corinthian aedicules framing windows on one of the long walls, and stone fireplace with corinthian aedicule and Latin inscription above. The friezes and architraves are richly carved with arabesques, rectangles and ovals similar to those found on the monuments at Wing, Buckinghamshire, and at Turvey, Bedfordshire, and some of the the mouldings of the plinth bases and cornices are comparable to those on the monuments at Turvey, Bedfordshire, Hornby, Yorkshire, and at Bromham, Marston Moretaine and Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (q.v.). The Latin inscription over the fireplace is paralleled by the *Virtute non vi* chimney piece at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire (q.v.). It reads:

VIVE ALIIS IPSIQUE TAMEN TIBI MORTVVS ESTO
QVICQVID VITALE EST SPIRITVS INTVS ALAT
CORPVS PRATA DOMOS VIVI CENSETO SEPVLCRA
NE VIS PECCATIS VLLA SIT INDE TVIS
ASSIDVUE MORIENS ÆTERNVM VIVERE PERGE
TETRA DIES MVLTI SIC ERIT ALMA TIBI

Translation:

Live thou for others, to thyself be dead
And let thy Life be by the spirit fed.
Let house and home and body be thy vaults,
Lest from them strength be given thy faults.
By dying daily, then, for ever live,
So shall thine end be calm, while others grieve.⁴⁶

This room has been the subject of much debate and considerable confusion concerning its date and origin. This has largely been cleared up by Mark Girouard, who has argued that it

dates to the 1570s, although a date range of 1570-1600 is not impossible.⁴⁷ He made a strong but nevertheless inconclusive case for the room originally having been built at Chicksands Priory in Bedfordshire, the home of Peter Osborne (q.v.).⁴⁸

Before 1908 the room stood in Haynes Grange, a sixteenth century timber framed building in the parish of Haynes, near Bedford. In 1981 Andor Gomme began to suspect that the room had been built as an integral part of Haynes Grange in the sixteenth century,⁴⁹ and it is clear that the building cannot be considered to be a conventional Bedfordshire farmhouse because of the excessive height of its two wings. Careful examination of photographs taken during repairs in 1983, when the timber frame was exposed, show that the corner posts run throughout the full height of the structure, strongly suggesting that the two wings were built very tall in the sixteenth century so as to receive the interior.⁵⁰ In fact, it is possible that there were two rooms comprising a suite on the first floor of what would have been a lodge or retreat for contemplation, and that the fittings of one room were lost before 1908. Further evidence of the importance of the Haynes Grange is that it was a manor in its own right.⁵¹

Although Haynes Grange was owned by the Osbornes of Chicksands Priory, it actually stands closer to Hawnes, a substantial mansion later known as Clarendon School and virtually rebuilt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This mansion is only 1,500 metres away, rather nearer in fact than Chicksands Priory. Recent excavation and historic map evidence has demonstrated that a major Elizabethan or Jacobean house stood at Hawnes, which was owned by the Newdigate family from 1564 to 1622.⁵² The Newdigates were intermarried with the Dormer and Cave families (q.v.), which suggests that the Haynes Grange Room may have a connection with the Dormer and Cave monuments at Wing and Chicheley, Buckinghamshire, as well as with the Osborne family.

HILLESDEN (ALL SAINTS) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Alexander Denton, d.1577, and his second wife Mary Martin (Plate 7)

An aedicule made of Totternhoe stone, set against the north wall of the north chapel, carefully integrated into blind Perpendicular panels of stone tracery. The base (on two stone steps) has three North American Indian heads to front. On this stands the lower sarcophagus, which has a pronounced bulge in profile, with five fluted bands terminating in Negroes' heads with exaggerated breasts. Heavy lid to sarcophagus with gadrooning and

leaves to corners, above which is an inscription on an elaborate strapwork panel. Fluted doric antae on pedestals engage with the wall, and prostyle fluted doric columns on pedestals support an entablature, the latter with triglyphs and paterae. Above the entablature is a shallow sarcophagus with four fluted bands, each with a ring. It has a central achievement and gentle cyma profile to the top of the sarcophagus. Above this is a plain frieze and shallow pediment.

The inscription reads:

HERE LYETHE ALEXANDER DENTON
 SONE AND HEYRE TO THOMAS DENTON
 ESQVIRE AND MARY HIS SECOND WIFE
 ONE OF THE DAWGHTERS OF SYR ROGER
 MARTYN KNIGHT WHICHE ALEXANDER
 DENTON DECESED THE 8 DAY OF IANVARYE
 IN THE YEARE OF OVR LORDE GOD 1576
 AND MARY THE 12TH DAY OF IVLIE IN
 THE YEAR OF OVR LORDE GOD 1574
 TO WHOM OVR LORDE GRAVNTE A
 IOY FOL RESVRRECTION
 AND ERECTYD AT THE
 CHARGE OF MARGERET
 DENTON

The design of the tomb is derived from *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, (Plate 54, lower aedicule), (Plates 61 & 63-4, upper sarcophagus), (Plate 54, upper sarcophagus and general design of lower aedicule). It is also derived from *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien* (Plates 69-72, general shape of upper sarcophagus). The inscription panel is derived from three unnumbered plates in Hieronymus Cock's *Compertimentorum quod vocant multiplex genus* of 1566 (Plate 73b-d).⁵³

Margaret Mordaunt's surviving letters to her father⁵⁴ demonstrate that she was articulate, capable, and forthright, and her carefully drafted will shows that she remained alert into old age.⁵⁵ When her son, Alexander, drew up his final will in January 1577,⁵⁶ he named his step-brother George Fettiplace as one of the executors, and his infant son, Thomas, as another. Alexander died within a few days, and George died between September and November in the same year.⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, a problem occurred during the probate, and a grant made in December 1577 was revoked.⁵⁸ It was not until Margaret Mordaunt petitioned the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in June 1578⁵⁹ that probate was granted, thereby assuring for herself the manor of Hillesden during her lifetime. Whatever her

personal feelings or wishes may have been, it is perhaps unlikely that she would have been able to commit herself to building Alexander's tomb in Hillesden church much before this date.

It is sometimes stated that Alexander Denton died in 1576,⁶⁰ and that this tomb was erected between 1574 and 1576.⁶¹ Both statements are incorrect. Two dated events are recorded in the inscription, firstly the death of Alexander Denton in January 1577 (the new year at that time did not begin until 25 March), and secondly the death of Mary Martin, his second wife, in 1574. It cannot possibly have been written before 1577, and for the reasons given above, the monument probably dates to c.1577-8.

HORNBY (ST MARY) YORKSHIRE

Tomb of Elizabeth Conyers, d.1572, wife of Thomas Darcy, erected 1578 (Plate 14)

Two-tier wall monument on the south side of the south aisle, made of limestone, possibly magnesian limestone from Knaresborough, Tadcaster or Stapleton, near Darlington. Lower storey of three panels with central sarcophagus and inscription, flanked by cartouches and cabrioles. This is a doric order with heraldic trefoils in the metopes. An upper sarcophagus is flanked by two putti, and above this is an attic in which terms support a pediment. There is a heraldic cartouche on the back panel

The inscription reads:

HERE LYETH ELYZABETH DARCY SECOND
OF THE THRE DOUGHTERS AND HEYES (sic) OF IOHN LATE
LORD CONYERS LATE WYFE VNTO THOMAS DARCY
ESQVYER SECOND SONNE TO SYR ARTHVRE DARCY
KNYGT WHO WAS SECOND SONNE TO THOMAS LORD
DARCY OF THE NORTH WHICH ELYZA HAD YSSVE BY
THE SAYD THOMAS TWO SONNES AND ONE DOUGHTER
AND DEPARTED THYS LYFE XXVII YERES OF AGE THE
SYXTE DAY OF IVNE A DNI 1572 IN THE XIII YERE OF
THE REGNE OF QVEEN ELYZABETH

Adam White was the first to notice that this was part of the group associated with "Thomas Kirby".⁶² It has clear affinities with the monuments at Fawsley, Chicheley, Hillesden, Turvey, and even Launde Abbey (all q.v.), and there are clear family connections between

Thomas Darcy and Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.). It appears to have been erected in 1578, and the inscription has been altered to note unspecified repairs in 1781.

The sources for the design of this monument are from *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, (Plate 64, shape of lower sarcophagus, eagle, putti), (Plate 63, eagle), (Plate 53, overall design of lower order and aedicule, with upper sarcophagus, putti and scrolled brackets), (Plate 61, generally, upper sarcophagus with putti), and *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, (Plate 65, shape of lower sarcophagus), (Plate 68, upper storey supported on consoles with pediment, putti), (Plate 70, upper storey with pediment, upper sarcophagus with eagle and fruit hanging from iron rings), (Plates 69 & 71-2, upper sarcophagus with eagle). There is also a connection with *Le triumphe d'Anvers*, plates Gii, M and facing Miiii (cartouche of bay leaves), plates F and Hiiii (male figures facing outward on upper storey), and plate I (figures facing outward, supporting the sides of the upper storey).

HUSBORNE CRAWLEY (ST MARY), BEDFORDSHIRE

John Thomson, d.1597, and his wife Dorothy Gilbert, d.1620 (Plate 13)

Large alabaster tomb and canopy against the east wall of the north aisle, moved from the north wall of the chancel early in the twentieth century. Original railings survived into this century,⁶³ but only the stone base remains. The body of the tomb has two panels to the front, each with an oval shield set into strapwork. The foot panel is plain, and the head panel has a black-letter inscription in a rectangular frame, also set into strapwork. The side and head of the tomb have friezes of paterae alternating with fluted consoles, the latter each with six guttae below a taenia. Five ionic columns stand on tall pedestals engaged with the main tomb, their dies enriched with chains of squares and circles. There is a plain but dignified entablature. An oval shield⁶⁴ within elaborate strapwork stands above the cornice. The ceiling of the canopy is decorated with pyramids and strapwork. Effigy of man in armour, head resting on helmet, his feet resting on clasped gauntlets. His wife has one pillow and a jewelled head-dress, and the back-panel contains kneeling figures. A funerary helm stands on the cornice.

The inscription reads:

HIC JACET JOHES THOMPSON
ARMIGER UNUS AUDITORUM
CURIAE SCACARII REGIAE
MAIESTATIS ET DOROTHEA UXOR
EIVS QUI JOHANNES OBIT
TERTIO DIE APRILIS ANNO
DN 1597 AETATIS SUAE 76.⁶⁵

The parish register records Dorothy's burial in 1620. He was buried in 1597 with the note

"John Thompson Esq, one of the Auditors of the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, was buried in a Tomb."⁶⁶

John's will requested burial "in decent and godlie order in the Chauncell" and Dorothy's requested

"my bodie to be buried in the Chauncell of Husborne Crawley aforesayd nere to the body of my said husband."⁶⁷

This tomb is one of the late alabaster series in Bedfordshire, and is very closely associated with that of Thomas Snagge at Marston Moretaine (q.v.), particularly in relation to moulding profiles. It is also comparable with the tombs of Lewis Dyve at Bromham (q.v.) and the second lord Mordaunt at Turvey (q.v.).

ICKFORD (ST NICHOLAS), BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Cenotaph or tomb of Thoms Tipping esquire, d. 1601,⁶⁸ dated 1595 (Plate 100d)

Stone monument in two stages against the north wall of the chancel. Lower stage with two panels of kneeling children in relief, between three black doric columns. Upper stage with inscription and strapwork between black corinthian columns on pedestals. Entablature with achievement above and balls to either side.

This structure was clearly inspired by the cenotaph to Edmund Harman at Burford, Oxfordshire (q.v.), even down to the strapwork based on the design by Cornelis Bos, although the pediment has been omitted. Michael Balfour has noted a distant link between Harman and Tipping,⁶⁹ and there is an obvious connection in that both pieces were erected

before death, although they were probably both intended as tombs. There is a general similarity between the lettering in Tipping's inscription and that of Sir John Fettiplace at Appleton, Berkshire, dating to 1593 (q.v.).

LAUNDE ABBEY, LEICESTERSHIRE

Tomb of Gregory Cromwell, Baron Cromwell, d.1551⁷⁰ (Plate 91a)

Monument made of a hard brown shelly stone built against the north wall of the private chapel, which was formed out of the chancel of the former priory church. The tomb is dominated by a large central panel containing an achievement with winged horses as supporters, elaborate scroll-work, and an inscription. Below is a predella with a further inscription panel held up by two putti in relief, with two heads facing outwards at the bottom, similar to those found on the tomb of Anthony Cave at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire (q.v.). This arrangement is flanked by corinthian pilasters carved with trophies, and an entablature with a frieze containing arabesques. A small pediment contains a circle and two Gothic mouchettes with cusps. Three tall acroteria support statues of putti carrying scrolled shields and other symbols, including a cornucopia, a skull and a torch.

The inscription in the panel under the achievement reads:

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF GREGORY
CRVMWEL KNYGHT LORDE CRVMWEL
WHO DEPARTED THYS LYFE THE
4 DAYE OF IVLIE IN THE YEARE
OF OVR LORDE GOD 1551

In the scroll above the achievement is the motto FAIRE MON DEVOIR, and the tomb is also carved with E.C. and G.C. (for Gregory Cromwell and Elizabeth Cromwell, his wife, formerly Elizabeth Seymour). The panel in the predella is ruled to receive an inscription, but although the word ESTRE was formerly visible⁷¹ it is now blank.

Pevsner described the tomb as

"One of the purest monuments of the early Renaissance in England, very grand and restrained".⁷²

It was also described by Nichols in the early nineteenth century.⁷³ The two vertical panels of trophies can be compared with those on the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey (q.v.) and those on the *Amicus fidelis protexio fortis* chimney piece at Deene Park, Northamptonshire, dated 1571 (q.v.). The right hand panel of trophies is dated 1551. The statues of the putti can also be compared to those on the Knightley tomb at Fawsley, Northamptonshire (q.v.), and the Conyers tomb at Hornby, Yorkshire (q.v.).

Gregory Cromwell's father, Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, may have been known to the first lord Mordaunt.⁷⁴ Gregory can also be loosely connected to Sir Richard Knightley through the Seymour family, but this relationship only became a formal one after 1573.⁷⁵ Cromwell's will has not been traced, but he was outlived by his wife Elizabeth Seymour, who wrote in a letter to William Cecil dated 25 Oct 1552 about

"The burden of bestowing my own children and such family as my husband left unprovided for." ⁷⁶

LONDON: see ALDGATE

MADLEY (NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN) HEREFORDSHIRE

Tomb of Richard Willison, d.1575 (Plate 94c)

Tomb chest and two effigies, made by John Gildon of Hereford. The sides of the tomb chest are decorated with shields, each in a semicircular arch with foliage, vases, and cabled and fluted ionic columns.

The main inscription reads:

Here lieth Richard Williso[n] of Sugwas Esquire deceassed and Anne his wief, which Richard died the xxv daie of February An^o Dni 1574 [i.e. 1575] and the said Ane his wife died [th]e __dai of __ An^o Dni.⁷⁷

In addition there is a further inscription:

IHON GILDO MADE THIS TOWM

Richard Willison's will, written on 25 January 1575, contains the passage:

"my body I bequeth to be buried in the parishe church of Madley desieringe
myn executors to make there some convenyent memoriall for me."⁷⁸

The word "convenyent" was inserted in another hand, the scribe who wrote the register copy being unable to read the word in the original will.

The severe damage to the effigies occurred after c.1720.⁷⁹ Llewellyn dates this tomb to the late 1580s on the grounds that Anne Willison, Richard's widow, did not die until 1591,⁸⁰ but it would seem difficult to date the tomb any more accurately than 1575-1591.

MARSTON MORETAINE (ST MARY) BEDFORDSHIRE

Tomb of Thomas Snagge, d.1593 and his wife Elizabeth Dicons (Plate 12)

This monument is so similar to that of John Thompson at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (q.v.) that the same description effectively applies to both. The chief difference in the Marston monument is that all the strapwork and shields above the cornice have been destroyed, and the man lies to the left. The woman has two pillows rather than one, and a pendant hangs from her belt. The back panel shows kneeling figures in profile.

The inscription reads:

This Monument to the Memory of
THOMAS SNAGGE Serjeant at Law,
Speaker of the House of Commons
who died on the 16th day of March A^oDⁿⁱ 1593,
and of his wife ELIZABETH,
Co-heir of her father THOMAS DECONS, Esquire,
and of her great-grandfather Sir JOHN REYNES, Knight,
Lord of the Manor of Marston Morteyne
was erected by their eldest Son and heir
Sir THOMAS SNAGGE, Knight, Lord of the Manor
who died on the 5th day of February A^oDⁿⁱ 1626.

The parish register contains a reference to the burial of Sir Thomas Snagge 1626,⁸¹ but neither of his parents are included because it does not begin until 1602. The wills of the two Thomas Snagges make no references to burial or monuments.⁸²

There are clear associations between this tomb and those at Husborne Crawley and Bromham, Bedfordshire, the second lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire, and the Throckmorton tomb at Coughton Court, Warwickshire (q.v.).

PYTCHLEY OLD HALL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (DEMOLISHED 1824)

Gateway (now at Overstone Park, Northampton, Plate 111) and Porch (now at Glendon Hall, Northamptonshire)

Gateway: Large carriage archway flanked by doric columns and with entablature containing triglyphs and paterae. The soffite of the arch contains a square-circle design. Smaller pedestrian arches to either side. The top has five tall obelisks and simplified scrollwork. It was moved to Overstone from Pytchley Hall, which was demolished in 1824. In 1973 it was damaged by a car,⁸³ but it has since been repaired.

Porch: Two storeys, the lower being an arch flanked by doric columns, above which is an entablature containing triglyphs and paterae. The upper storey has large mullioned and transomed windows, with a balustrade above.

Pytchley Old Hall was begun about 1578 by Sir Eusebius Isham,⁸⁴ and Pevsner gives this as the date for the porch, although he places the gateway nearer 1590.⁸⁵

The overall design of the porch can be compared with the example at Dingley Hall, Northamptonshire. The detailing of the triglyphs, paterae and square-circle pattern, places these structures in the same overall tradition as the tombs of the first and second lords Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.), the Roman Staircase at Burghley House, Northamptonshire (q.v.), and the tomb of Alexander Denton at Hillesden, Buckinghamshire (q.v.). The Ishams of Pytchley were intermarried with the Poulton family (q.v. Ferdinando Poulton), and the lawyer Thomas Nicolles of Pytchley (q.v.) is another possible link.

ROMFORD (ST EDWARD THE CONFESSOR), ESSEX

Tomb of Sir Anthony Cooke, d.1576, and his wife Anne Fitzwilliam

Classical aedicule with a broken base pediment, supported on two fluted and cabled corinthian columns. Below are the kneeling effigies of Sir Thomas and his wife, facing

each other across a prayer desk with a shield and swags above. The entablature continues to each side, supported by two unfluted corinthian columns, creating two outer panels in which are kneeling effigies of their six children and their arms. There is a small obelisk above each column and a circular strapwork panel containing an achievement over the apex of the pediment.

As the father in law of Sir William Cecil, it is hardly surprising that Sir Anthony Cooke (q.v.) should be commemorated by such an advanced and refined classical monument.

RUSHTON HALL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Doorcase on the landing, late sixteenth century (Plate 112)

Stone doorcase consisting of two pilasters decorated with squares and circles, and a doric entablature with triglyphs and paterae. The deep pedestals have lozenge designs.

This doorcase cannot be dated accurately. It is representative of a great deal of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century timber carving and stonework at Rushton Hall, which has the square and circle motif. The outer wall of the corridor on the east elevation also has a triglyph and paterae frieze, and a central semicircular arched doorway.

Sir Thomas Tresham was building at Rushton Hall in the 1580s and 1590s. He was a Roman Catholic recusant associated with the Throckmorton family (q.v.), Lewis Dyve (q.v.), and Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.).

SHARNBROOK, (ST PETER), BEDFORDSHIRE

Cenotaph of Sir Oliver Boteler, d.1632, dated 1618 (Plate 122)

Limestone or ragstone monument on south wall of north chapel, consisting of a frame in which two detached doric columns with entasis stand on tall pedestals with plain ovals carved in the dies. These stand on a heavily moulded base, which in turn is supported by two fluted consoles. Black-letter inscription between the pedestals and brass inscription above. The columns support a doric entablature with paterae in the metopes and a chain of squares and circles to the soffite. The cornice is decorated with dentils. Above the cornice

is a stone achievement with strapwork and obelisks, possibly based on an illustration in *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* (Plate 63, right hand side).

The main inscription reads:

IN THE YEARE 1618 S^R OLIVER BOTELER KNIGHT BY ANNNE DAVGH^{TER}
AND SOLE HEIRE TO THOMAS BARHAM OF TESTON IN Y^E COVNTIE OF
KENT ESQVIER HAD ISSVE IOHN IAMES WILLIAM & ANNE III
SONNES AND ONE DAVGHTER
OLIVER WAS SONNE TO IOHN BY CRESSED ST IOHN
IOHN BOTELER WAS SONNE TO GEORGE BY MARY THROCKMERTO^T
GEOR BOTEL^R WAS SONE TO WIL^M BY IANE DAVGHT & HEIRE TO BACH^{COT}
WIL^M BOTEL^R WAS SONNE TO WILLIAM BY DENYS BARNESLEY
WIL^M BOTEL^R WAS SONNE TO WIL^M BY ISABELL BRADWELL
WIL^M BOTELER WAS SONE TO WIL^M BY MARGAR^T DAVGHT^R & HEIR TO
IOHN WIB^{BE}
WIL^M BOTELER BEINGE Y^E FOVRTH WIL^M WAS SONE TO NICHOLAS
BY IANE DAVGHT^R & HEIRE TO IOHN BOTELER OF DROYTE WYCHE
NICH^S BOT^R WAS SONE TO IOHN BY MARG^{RET} DAVGHT^R & HEIRE TO
FROXME^R
IOHN BOTELER WAS SONNE TO IOHN BY ANNE HANBVRYE
IOHN BOTELER WAS SONNE TO ROBERT & ROBERT WAS SONNE TO
ROB BOTH W^{CH} TWO ROBERTS ARE SVRNAMED *PINCERNA* & LE BOTE^{LER}
IN TWO SEVERALL DEEDS, BEFORE Y^E DATING OF DEEDS WAS VSED
DROYT WYCHE IS IN WORCESTER SHIRE WHERE THIS FAMILIE OF
BOTELERS LONGE TIME INHABITED THERE & THEREABOVTES
VNTILL GEORGE BOTELER FATHER TO IOHN & GRANDEFATHER TO
S^R OLIVER SEATED HIM SELFE IN SHERNEBROKE IN Y^E COVNTIE
OF BEDFORDE WHERE GEORGE & IOHN LYE BOTH BVRYED

The inscription below reads:

THE LORD HIMSELFE IS
THE PORTION OF MINE IN
HERITANCE AND OF MY CVP
I.WILL RECEIVE THE CVP OF
SALVATION: AND CALL VPON
THE NAME OF THE LORD:

The doric entablature has clear affinities with those on the tombs of the first and second lords Mordaunt at Turvey (q.v.) four miles away. The lettering of the second inscription is in the same manner as earlier examples at Hornby, Chicheley and Hillesden (q.v.), albeit enlarged. The phrase in the inscription is taken from the Psalms of David as written in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552, not as written in the *Holy Bible* of 1611,⁸⁶ but this does

not in itself prove that the monument is earlier than 1611. Note the odd punctuation in the words I.WILL, which is unexplained.⁸⁷

SHENLEY, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Edmund Ashfield, d.1578 (Plate 93)

Alabaster wall monument in the form of an aedicule on the north side of the chancel, with some imported marbles used for the columns and as inlays. Curvaceous sarcophagus under a broken-apex pediment supported on three corinthian columns. There are a number of very broad comparisons with the sarcophagi at Turvey, Bedfordshire (q.v.) and more generally with the tomb of Dr John Caius at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (q.v.).⁸⁸

The inscription reads:

*Prudentia ac rerum usu insignis Edmundus Ashfield, miles, cum Ælienora coniuge, hic situs est. Hereditate in filias divisa quas Leo Fetiplaceo et Fortescuo, uxores dederat ex acte aetatis moritur. Vixit annos septuaginta septem obiit VIII kalend: februarii anno domini 1577 R Elizabetha Regnante. Avita filia et Leus et fetiplaceus nepotes mestiss avo benemerito ea, testamente posueri.*⁸⁹

Sir Edmund Ashfield's will, written in July 1577, requested that:

*"I bequeath...my bodye to be buried in the parishe Churche of Shenley as neare unto the place where Elianore my late wiefe was buried as conveniently I maye...Item, my will is that my Executors shall cawse A fayre Tombe to be made in the place where my saide wiefe and I do lie buried, and to bestowe uppon the same Thirtie or Fourtie poundes as they maye gett it done or more if they thincke it meet and convenient."*⁹⁰

Sir Edmund Ashfield (q.v.) was involved in a survey of the Totternhoe stone quarries in 1573.⁹¹

SLAUGHAM, SUSSEX

Tomb of Richard Covert, c.1580 (Plate 100c)

Wall monument of freestone, consisting of a large rectangular panel with three achievements and seventeen kneeling figures in profile, flanked by fluted and cabled corinthian columns on tall pedestals. The base of the monument is finely carved with panels of figures, trophies and strapwork. It is possible that the upper part of the monument, which is now flat, once carried a pediment or obelisks.

A local freemason, William Flinte of Gatton, Surrey, is believed to be at least partly responsible for making the monument, on the following evidence:

Richard Covert's will, written in July 1579 and proved in April 1580, contains the passages:

"Item, I will my bodie to be buried in the Chauncell at Slaugham as neere my Wives as conveniently may be...Item I will to be paide...to Flynte Tenne poundes for makeinge my Tombe for w^{ch} I have alreadie paide him Twentie poundes."⁹²

The will of William Flinte, written in February 1581 and proved in March 1581, contains the passage:

"Also, Mr Covett oweth me tenn poundes when the worke is fynished, and there wilbe asmuche stuffe lefte there as will paie for half the worke."⁹³

The "Mr Covett" referred to was probably Walter Covert, one of Richard Covert's sons and his sole executor. These documents suggest that the first payment of twenty pounds was made in or before July 1579, and that the tomb had not been finished before February 1581, some twenty months later. In fact, there is no certainty that the work had even begun before this date.

SLAUGHAM, SUSSEX

Tomb of Jane Covert, d.1586 (firstly married to Francis Fleming, and secondly to Sir John Fettiplace) (Plate 107b)

Small aedicule of Petworth marble, set against the north wall of the chancel. Doric columns with brass figure, inscription and shields in the back panel, and designs based on crowns

and a fleur-de-lys in the predella. Three black rectangular stones are set into the entablature, and an oval one into the pediment.

The inscription records that Jane's nephew and executor, William Covert, set up the tomb.

Jane Covert's second husband was Sir John Fettiplace (d.1580), whose tomb at Appleton in Berkshire was erected in 1593. This meant that her second mother-in-law was Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.).

This monument is very close in appearance to that of Sir Ambrose Cave at Stanford-upon-Avon, Northamptonshire (q.v.).

STANFORD ON AVON (ST NICHOLAS) NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Ambrose Cave, d.1568 (Plate 107a)

Small classical aedicule built against the north wall of the nave, screened with railings, made of limestone and Purbeck marble. Restrained corinthian columns. The back panel contains an achievement and inscription, and there is a further shield in the pediment. Three circles in the predella contain a shield and heraldic symbols.

The main inscription reads:

HERE LYETH THE BODIE OF SIR AMBROSE CAVE, KNIGHT,
SOM TYME CHAVNCELOR OF THE DVCHY OF LANCASTER
AND ONE OF THE MOST HONORABLE PRIVE COVNSEL
TO OVR SOVERAIGNE LADIE QVEENE ELIZABETH
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE SECOND OF APRIL
ANNO DOMINI 1568

In addition, the pediment contains the words ADSUM CAVE,⁹⁴ and the frieze bears the inscription + TV MEMOR ESTO DEI SEMPER MORTISQUE FUTURÆ.⁹⁵ The lettering is akin to that at Chicheley, Hornby, Hillesden, and even Appleton (all q.v.).

One of the closest versions of this monument is the tomb of Jane Covert at Slaugham, Sussex (q.v.). Another similar tomb in terms of size and concept is that of Anthony Cave at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire (q.v.) who was Ambrose Cave's younger brother.

STAVERTON (ST MARY) NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Tomb of Thomas Wylmer, d.1580 (Plate 107c)

Ionic aedicule of local stone, based on the design of the Knightley monument at Fawsley only a few miles away. Some of the moulding profiles are based on those at Fawsley, but the execution of much of the Stanford example is inferior and crude.

The inscription, which is on a brass plate in the centre panel, reads:

Here under Resteth the body of Thomas Wylmer
Gent' who had to wife Elizabeth Crudge & had issue
by her six sonnes and foure daughters, which Thomas
deceased the 31 day of January Anno Domini 1580.

TILSWORTH (ALL SAINTS), BEDFORDSHIRE

Tomb of Gabriel Fowler, d.1582 (Plates 108-9)

Canopied four-poster tomb in the corner of the chancel, made of Totternhoe stone. Solid gadrooned base carved with ovals and husks, upon which stand four corinthian columns. Deep entablature with strapwork design carved on its ceiling, and intricate pattern of leaves and flowers on the frieze. Solid block of strapwork above, carved with an achievement, and smaller blocks with balls to the corners. The base is too short to have had a full-size recumbent effigy, but it is possible that a kneeling or miniature figure has been lost.

There is no original inscription, but the arms clearly indicate that this is Gabriel Fowler's tomb. An inscription was added in 1624 by one of his daughters, recording a gift to establish regular sermons.

In overall concept, the monument can be compared to the local examples at Marston Moretaine, Husborne Crawley and Bromham, Bedfordshire (q.v.), although these are made of alabaster and are probably a decade or more later. Gabriel Fowler (q.v.) is relevant because of his connections with Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.) and the Moore family of Bourton, in Buckingham (q.v.). See also the tomb of Sir Edward Saunders at Weston-under-Wetherley, Warwickshire (q.v.).

TURVEY (ALL SAINTS) BEDFORDSHIRE

Because of the complexity and inter-relationship of the Mordaunt monuments within one building, they are discussed together:

- 1. Tomb of Sir John Mordaunt, d.1504.**
- 2. Tomb of John, first baron Mordaunt (d.1562) and his wife Elizabeth Vere.**
- 3. Tomb of John, second baron Mordaunt (d.1571), and his two wives Ela Fitzlewis and Joan Fermor, d.1592.**
- 4. Tomb of Lewis, third baron Mordaunt, d.1601**

Brief descriptions of the Monuments:

1. Tomb of Sir John Mordaunt, d.1504 (Plate 120)

Two alabaster effigies lying on a late medieval altar tomb of Purbeck marble, with twisted shafts at the corners.

2. Tomb of John, first baron Mordaunt, d.1562, and his wife Elizabeth Vere (Plates 6 & 132)

Three-sided superstructure of Totternhoe stone, built into the wall between the chancel and the south chapel, the west side largely destroyed by a pier built up against it in the 1850s. A semicircular arch contains a sarcophagus and two effigies, all made of alabaster. The intrados of the arch is decorated with chains of squares and circles, and the structure above has two superimposed orders, the lower doric, the upper of canephora, with a pediment and massive heraldic achievement (Plates 139-40). The design of the tomb is partly based on illustrations in *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* (Plates 60-1), *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien* (Plate 66), and *Le triumphe d'Anvers*, plates Hiiii, I and Miii. Its four panels of trophies, partly hidden behind the paired doric columns, may have been taken from Vredeman de Vries' *Panoplia seu armamentarium ac ornamenta* of 1572.⁹⁶

3. Tomb of John, second baron Mordaunt, d.1571, and his two wives Ela Fitzlewis and Joan Fermor, d.1592 (Plate 10)

Massive alabaster canopy over a sarcophagus bearing three effigies. The canopy is supported on eight doric columns on pedestals, and has strapwork cartouches to all four sides above the cornice. The ceiling of the canopy is richly decorated with pyramidal shapes, Gothic pendants and strapwork. The sarcophagus has festoons of fruit to the sides, and nereids to the corners. It stands on a plinth, supported by eight lions' claws that grow from bands terminating in human faces. All three effigies lie on rush mats, rolled at the feet, the man in armour being raised centrally on three blocks ornamented with squares and circles, his head resting on his helm (Plate 25). The design of the tomb is based partly on illustrations in *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* (Plates 57-60 & 63-4) and *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien* (Plate 65).

4. Tomb of Lewis, third baron Mordaunt, d.1601 (Plate 121)

Altar tomb consisting of a black slab of touch or marble, draped with a pall, on a plain base. The base and pall are made of Totternhoe stone, and there is a small achievement made of alabaster on the ledger.

Description of All Saints Church, Turvey, and the installation and development of the Mordaunt monuments, c.1504-c.1607

All Saints church, Turvey is Saxon in origin,⁹⁷ but it was heavily altered, re-worked and extended by Giles Gilbert Scott in the 1850s, during which much of its ancient fabric was destroyed.⁹⁸ Prior to Scott's "restoration" the original chancel was flanked on the north and south by chapels, both of which had open arcades. When Sir John Mordaunt wrote his will in 1504, he made the following request for his burial:

"Imprimis lego animam omnipotenti Deo, corpusque meum Ecclesiasticae sepulturae, in Capella beatissimae Virginis Mariae in Ecclesia parochiali de Turveia, ubicunque contingat me obire".⁹⁹

This chapel was immediately to the south of the chancel, and in 1560 the first baron Mordaunt's will provided that:

"...my boddie to be buried in the parrish Churche of Turvey in the walle next above my father's towmb. And I will that the boddie of the Ladie Elizabeth Mordaunte [Vere] my late wief diseased be removed and taken upp and laied and buried againe on my right syde with all speed after my departure oute of this worlde. And I will that my executors and administrators within one yere after my disseace shall prepare for me and the saide Ladie Elizabeth a meete and conveniente Tombe of marble with ii pictures of Alleblaster Thone for my self and thother for the saide Ladie Elizabeth, both the said pictures representing the estate that god of his infinyte goodnes hath called me unto here in this presente Worlde, which saide premisses will cost as I suppose aboute threscore poundes."¹⁰⁰

It seems, therefore, that the tomb of Sir John Mordaunt was built into an arch between the chancel and the chapel, and that this arch was widened after 1562 to receive the monument of the first lord Mordaunt (Plate 133).¹⁰¹

The first lord Mordaunt's will demonstrated that he had already given careful consideration to the location of his monument, to structural alterations within the church, to building materials, and to a fairly accurate estimate of cost. He specified two alabaster effigies, and "marble" for the rest of the tomb, a word that was not at that time used with geological strictness, and which could have referred to a proposal for an altar tomb similar to that of his father. There is no reason to suppose that he planned to build a structure along the lines of the one we see today. However, the terms of the will were quite specific, namely that the tomb should be prepared within a year of death, which occurred in August 1562.¹⁰² In theory, therefore, the tomb should have been built by August 1563. But although the alabaster effigies may date from about this time, there are stylistic reasons for believing that much of the rest of the monument dates to the 1570s.

The second lord Mordaunt was not named as an executor of the first lord Mordaunt's will, and his interest in the lands of his own first wife, Elizabeth Fitzlewis, were limited and entailed by the first lord.¹⁰³ This arrangement grew out of dissension between the three generations of Mordaunts in the late 1550s, the initial problem being that Lewis, third lord Mordaunt, was persuaded by his grandfather, the first lord Mordaunt, to refuse to marry one of Joan Fermor's daughters by her first marriage to Robert Wilford. Lewis was recalled to Turvey by the first lord Mordaunt, where he could be better supervised,¹⁰⁴ and he was named as an executor of his grandfather's will in 1560. Despite this unpleasant and

embarrassing family dispute, the rift should not be exaggerated. Robert Halstead commented that the first and second lord "had the happiness to live long together in the same Generation",¹⁰⁵ and that "mutual fears of General ruine by disagreement made the peace".¹⁰⁶ Later on, in November 1563 and in May 1569, the second lord Mordaunt and his son Lewis, and Joan Fermor, successfully negotiated two agreements arising out of the terms of the will,¹⁰⁷ so their relationship must have been reasonably cordial.

As an executor of the first lord Mordaunt's will and a resident of Turvey, Lewis Mordaunt would have been in an ideal position to ensure that the tomb was in position by 1563. But of the sixteen executors, supervisors and witnesses, it fell to George Mordaunt of Thundersly, Essex, fourth son of the deceased, to take the initial lead in administering the estate. He was the only sworn executor, acting on behalf of the others,¹⁰⁸ although he faced the practical disadvantage that Thundersley is about seventy miles from Turvey, and even farther from Drayton. Nevertheless, he may have played an important part. As late as 1584, some twenty-four years after the first lord Mordaunt's will was written, Dr John Hatcher left a legacy of nine pounds to "Mr Mordaunt of Thunderly", to be paid within two years of his death.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that there was an enduring relationship between the Hatcher and Mordaunt families, and it may be that George Mordaunt had personal knowledge of Dr John Caius, who was a friend of John Hatcher's son, Thomas Hatcher (q.v.).

George Mordaunt may have taken the lead in the execution of the first lord Mordaunt's will, but Lewis Mordaunt may also have been an active participant in the process. He was the greatest builder of all the Mordaunts in the sixteenth century,¹¹⁰ but his east wing at Drayton was begun after he became the third baron in 1571, and was not completed until 1584, so little is known about his interests in the early 1560s. If he ever had any feeling for Turvey as an ancestral home, he lost it in later life, describing himself as lord Mordaunt of Drayton, and requesting burial in its church, Lowick, Northamptonshire.¹¹¹

The second lord Mordaunt (c.1508-1571) spent much of his life in the shadow of his father, the first lord Mordaunt. He first drafted his will about 1540 as lord of the manor of Thorndon, Essex (then West Horndon), shortly after the birth of his son Lewis and the death

of his first wife. The welfare of souls was his first concern:

"And further I will and demise, that my said Executors...shall find a Priest to sing Mass in the Parish Church of *Westhornedon* aforesaid, to pray for my soul, and Dame *Ely* [Elizabeth Fitzlewis] my late Wife deceased, and all Christian souls..."

A tomb was also to be prepared for a certain "Widow Joan Matthew":

"...the said *Edmond* or his Heirs shall make or cause to be made within two years after the death of the said *Joan Matthew* in the Church of *Westhorndon* on the North side of the Altar, a Tomb of Marble meet and convenient to serve for the Sepulcher, at the Feast of *Easter*..."¹¹²

To perform these tasks, John Mordaunt had provisionally nominated his father, the first lord Mordaunt, and his own brother, "the said Edmond", as joint executors. However, his plans had altered by September 1549, when he made a second, unsigned, draft:

"First, I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and my Body to be buried in the Parish Church of *Westhornedon* aforesaid by Dame *Ely Mordaunt* [Elizabeth Fitz Lewis] my late Wife...And the doings and ordering of my Funeral-expences I commit to the order and disposition of Dame *Joan* [Fermor] now my Wife, whom I make and ordain by this my present Testament my sole Executrix."¹¹³

A number of things are implied by these documents. For a start, he had abandoned the idea of asking his own father and brother to administer his estate by 1549, preferring instead his new wife, Joan Fermor. This is significant, because it shows that he saw no problem or difficulty in Joan arranging for him to be buried beside his first wife, Elizabeth Fitzlewis. The documents also suggest that he may have erected a tomb for Elizabeth in which he was also to lie, because he did not mention the need to build one after his own death. Joan Matthews was not mentioned in 1549, possibly indicating that she had already died and that her tomb and Easter Sepulchre at Thorndon had been catered for. Another important piece of information is that he was still more attracted to Thorndon than Turvey, so at that time he had no intention of being buried near his grandfather in Bedfordshire.

Two decades later, his circumstances had changed again and he was a baron in his own right, with a larger family and greater responsibilities. When he drew up his final will in April 1571, he retained his wife Joan Fermor as executrix, but he called on the assistance of three men, her brother Thomas Fermor esquire, a lawyer called Edmund Plowden, and his

own estate bailiff, William Goodfellow (q.v.). No mention was made of burial beside Elizabeth Fitzlewis at Thorndon. In structure and phrasing, the final will owes little to the two earlier drafts, so it appears to be a wholly new composition written on one day by a dying man. As was customary, he firstly bequeathed his soul to Almighty God, and then

requested that:

"my bodie to be buried w^t in the churche of Turvey w^t in the countie of Bedfourde in suche decent ordre and sorte, and w^t suche funerall chardges and expences as by myne executors shalbe thoughte meete and conveniente for myne estate and degree."

Nine gifts of money followed, and then he provided for his tomb as follows:

"Item I will that myne executors shall bistowe twoe hundred fiftie poundes of good and lawfull monnye of englande uppon an ile to be builded and made uppon the southe side of the churche of Turvey w^t in the countie of Bedforde aforesaide, and for a tombe for me to be erected and sett up w^t in the saide Ile."¹¹⁴

Most of the remainder of the will was taken up with provisions for major land-holdings that had been the subject of settlements made during his lifetime. The second lord Mordaunt's London neighbour, Dr John Caius was present as a witness, suggesting that the will was written at Mordaunt's town house in St Bartholomew the Less, London, and it is possible that Caius may have discussed the idea of the tomb and the aisle with him. Evidence that the south aisle was a last-minute idea, rather than a project that had been properly planned, may be seen in the fact that a south aisle had been in existence since the thirteenth century, and is still there to this day. It is quite impossible that the medieval wall paintings in the tomb-recess on the south wall of the south aisle at Turvey can have been painted after 1571. Two independent copies of the will say "south", so the solution to the puzzle cannot reasonably be attributed to a scribal error for "north".¹¹⁵ John Mordaunt must have known that there was already a south aisle, but perhaps his memory was not as sound as the standard preamble to his will suggests.

The exact date of the second lord Mordaunt's tomb is not known, but its strong similarity to the series of alabaster monuments at Husborne Crawley, Marston Moretaine and Bromham, Bedfordshire, all of which seem to date to c.1593-c.1603, is significant. If these tombs are derivatives of the second lord Mordaunt's monument, a date of c.1592-3 would seem possible. His wife, Joan Fermor, died in 1592, so it may have been put up shortly before or

after her death. In the event, it seems that a tomb was erected in the medieval south aisle, that a north aisle was then constructed, and that the tomb was moved to this purpose-built burial place for the Mordaunt family.

The evidence for this is contained partly in the church fabric, and partly in the tomb of the second lord Mordaunt itself. Beginning with the church, a drawing by John Burgon of about 1835 shows that two windows on the south wall of the south aisle had been inserted with depressed Tudor arches. One of these survives, with a transom and upper tracery, and it is possible that it could have been made in the latter part of the sixteenth century. If a major monument had been intended to stand in the wide and spacious south aisle, these two windows could have been part of a modest refurbishment. Furthermore, a roofed structure dated 1593¹¹⁶ was built into the angle between the tower and the south aisle, so there was certainly building activity on this side of the church in the late Elizabethan period. Turning to the north aisle, the creneallated western half is almost certainly medieval, but the eastern half, now containing the tomb, is much later, perhaps as late as c.1600.

However, if the north aisle was built with the intention of containing the second lord Mordaunt's tomb as a centrepiece, something went wrong with the design. Another of Burgon's drawings of c.1835 suggests that the tomb was not aligned with the north windows or the north arcade, but rather had the appearance of having been squeezed into a narrow space where it would be out of the way (Plate 135). The picture is further complicated by the appearance here of the tomb of Lewis, third lord Mordaunt (d.1601), despite the fact that he requested burial at Lowick in consciously similar phrases used by his grandfather (Plates 136 & 121). Writing in 1593, he said:

"My Body I wish, wheresoever I depart, within this Realm of *England*, may be Buried at the Parish Church of *Luffwick*, where the Body of Dame *Elizabeth Mordaunt* my late Wife doth lie, if it may conveniently so be; ...And I Will, that within One Year after my Departure, my Executors shall cause to be made for me, and Dame *Elizabeth* my late Wife, a meet and convenient Tomb, or Monument of Alabaster, with Two Pictures, the one for my self, the other for Dame *Elizabeth* my late Wife, representing the State which God of his infinite Goodness hath called me unto; the charges thereof will be I suppose about fourscore Pounds; and so much I will shall be bestowed, at the least."¹¹⁷

Later generations of the Mordaunt family were also buried in the north aisle at Turvey. Charles Longuet-Higgins noted that during the construction of the organ chamber at the east end of the north aisle in 1852-4, "two vaults belonging to the family of the Mordaunts were opened" holding six coffins, two of which were dated 1643 and 1735,¹¹⁸ and this part of the

church was referred to as the "Mordaunt aisle" by Scott in 1852.¹¹⁹ One possibility is that the aisle was not completed by 1593, when Lewis Mordaunt wrote his will, but that it was finished soon after his death in 1601 to receive his tomb. Alternatively, his tomb may have been built at Lowick, as requested, and transferred to Turvey before 1685, which is when it is first recorded by Robert Halstead (Plate 121). Either way, the fact that it contains Totternhoe stone suggests that its production was connected in some way with the quarries there. In terms of its design, Nikolaus Pevsner drew a comparison with details on the monument of Princess Sophia in Westminster Abbey by Maximilian Colt, erected in 1606-7.¹²⁰ Adam White made no comment on this in his thesis, and may have been unaware of the suggestion.¹²¹

Turning from the fabric of the church to the monument of the second lord Mordaunt itself, the tomb contains evidence that suggests it was carved with the intention of standing in the medieval south aisle, not the north aisle. Above the four-sided canopy are four heraldic panels or cartouches supported by strapwork. The helm on the western achievement faces dexter, and was therefore intended to be viewed from the north, that is, from the nave. The tomb is now in the north aisle, and the helm faces the north wall, which is not what was meant to happen, suggesting that the whole structure has been moved (Plate 137).

Observation of other tombs proves that this detail is a reliable indicator of position, a perfect example being the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, where there are achievements on the north and south sides. In both elevations the helms face westward, towards people in the main body of the church. Conventionally, the helm on an achievement faces dexter, but the helm on the north elevation of the first lord Mordaunt's tomb faces sinister, so that it is facing people approaching the altar. Similarly, the helm on the Thomson monument at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire, faced onlookers in the chancel when it was in its original position.

Two other heraldic escutcheons above the canopy of the second lord Mordaunt's tombs are of interest. They are on the north and south sides, representing alliances with Fermor and Fitzlewis. Given that Joan Fermor was an executor of the second lord Mordaunt's will, it might be expected that the Fermor arms should be in full view of the church, not facing the wall. But in the north aisle they face the wall, and this also suggests that the monument was moved from the south aisle to the north aisle. However, Lewis Mordaunt was probably keen to see that the Fitzlewis arms were prominently displayed, and this is precisely what happens under the current arrangement where they face into the nave. Furthermore, the two female effigies are slightly different, one being more richly carved than the other. If the

north elevation of the monument is the "Fermor" side, and if the south elevation is the "Fitzlewis" side, it might be expected that the more richly carved female would be on the north. In fact, the more richly carved effigy is on the south side, where it is now displayed for best effect. It is, of course, possible that the pieces had been jumbled during relocation from one aisle to another. Dismantling and re-erection would be consistent with the bad cracks that may be seen on the monument, notably on the southern female effigy, the sarcophagus, and the western escutcheon over the canopy.

But if the monument has been moved, the vault and its contents have been taken with it. Longuet-Higgins, who bullied a rather reluctant Giles Gilbert Scott into extensive alterations in 1852-4, recorded that during the excavation for the north side of the new chancel arch:

"In the mortuary chapel, on the north side the chancel, in the part immediately adjoining the...organ floor, two bodies were seen lying under the large monument of John the second Lord Mordaunt."¹²²

These two bodies were presumably those of the second baron and his second wife, Joan Fermor, who in 1591 expressed a wish to be buried with her late husband.

"my bodie to be decentlie buried in the parishe church of Turvie in the Countie of Bedforde by my late lovinge husbände the Lord Mordaunt with suche charge and expenses as unto my Executors shall seeme meet and conveniente."¹²³

John Mordaunt's first wife, Elizabeth Fitzlewis, had long since been buried at Thorndon, so Longuet-Higgins' observations, of two bodies, appear to fit the facts so far as they are known. It is almost certain that the monument was in the north aisle at Turvey when Halstead's engraving was done in 1685, because it was viewed from the south side, exactly as it is best observed today. If it had been in the south aisle in 1685, the only practical viewpoint would have been from the north, in which case the effigies would lie with their heads towards the right hand side of the page (Plate 10).

All three effigies on the second lord Mordaunt's tomb appear to have been carved at the same time, the male elevated on blocks between the females, all on rush mats. His mat is narrower than the others by eight centimetres so that everything fits neatly onto the top of the sarcophagus, demonstrating that the three are a "set", rather than a pair with a later addition. Whatever the original position of the monument may have been, it seems that it

was either erected by Joan Fermor, as her husband's principal executor, before her death in April 1592, or by Lewis Mordaunt shortly afterwards.

Joan Fermor did not mention the need to erect a tomb, perhaps implying that she had already arranged for it to be built. Her sole executor was her son-in-law, Robert Apreece, or Price,¹²⁴ who was instructed by three Lords of the Council to provide for her funeral as a baroness, not in a private manner. He failed in his duty, for shortly afterwards he was ordered by the three lords to pay compensation to Garter King of Arms for financial loss sustained as a result of the funeral not taking place as ordered.¹²⁵ If Price was unable to arrange the funeral properly, it is even less likely that he was prepared to arrange for the erection of her monument, more particularly a monument that also contained the effigies of her late husband and his first wife. If it was made after 1593, Lewis Mordaunt is the only other person who can reasonably be supposed to have commissioned it. One piece of evidence that suggests it was made after her death is a clause in the second lord Mordaunt's will, effectively tying up at least part of the supply of money for the performance of the will until after Joan's death:

"Item, I will and bequeathe to the ladie Johanne my wife, all that my mansion howse...in Smythfeelde...To have the same...And the residue [after her death]...shalbe sould by my saide executors...and all suche somes of monnye as shalbe had...to imploye...towardses the performance of this my last will."¹²⁶

If Joan Fermor built the tomb before 1592 she provided very generously for Elizabeth Fitzlewis, allowing her equal, or even superior, status on the monument. This may seem surprising, but it has already been suggested that Joan Fermor's relationship with her predecessor had been quite relaxed, for as early as 1549 she had agreed that her husband could be buried with his first wife at Thorndon. Part of what appears to be a balancing act may be attributable to Lewis Mordaunt. It has been noted that he may have been an observer in these events rather than a participant, but it is difficult to believe that he was not consulted. His living step-mother was represented on the monument, alongside his dead mother. Even if he had no strong feelings for his mother, who died when he was a very small child, he probably felt strongly about the way in which the heraldry was displayed. He appears to have been on good terms with Joan Fermor, otherwise he could have removed her effigy after 1592, so the symmetrical and balanced appearance of the monument may have resulted from careful negotiation between Lewis and Joan. It should be noted, after all, that the tomb represents the second lord Mordaunt with both his wives, a requirement not mentioned in the will.

On balance, therefore, it seems that the second lord Mordaunt's monument was made c.1593, which fits well with the date of the tombs at Marston Moretaine and Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire, (q.v.), and that it was designed and built for the medieval south aisle, but later moved to a new Mordaunt Aisle on the north side between c.1593 and c.1607.¹²⁷

WESTON UNDER WETHERLEY, WARWICKSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Edward Saunders, d.1576

Mural monument of Totternhoe stone on the east wall of the north aisle, somewhat mutilated. It is in three main stages, the base consisting of an inscription panel flanked by arches containing kneeling figures in relief, and with four doric colonnettes. The middle tier has a central panel containing a religious scene, flanked by ionic colonnettes and shields. At the top is another religious scene within a semicircular frame, topped by another shield, and with flaming urns to the sides. Below the base is a further inscription flanked by heads and shields.

The three original inscriptions have all been lost, replaced by Latin religious texts on slate panels that were inserted into the frames in the seventeenth century. By implication, the heraldry confirms that this is the tomb of Sir Edward Saunders. The five shields all carry the names of the families allied to Saunders.

Sir Edward Saunders is represented on another family monument at Harrington, Northamptonshire, dated 1588. He can be linked with the Cave family (q.v.) and with his son in law, Gabriel Fowler (q.v.), who was buried at Tilsworth, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

WING (ALL SAINTS) BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Tomb of Sir Robert Dormer, d.1552 (Plate 3)

Sarcophagus of Totternhoe stone and alabaster, in the form of an antique altar, built against the north wall of the north aisle, with a long flat canopy over it supported by paired columns and pilasters at each end. The sarcophagus is richly carved with bucrania and swags, and has an elaborate base and cornice topped by a slab of Purbeck marble. All the

pedestals of the columns are carved with trophies, and the ceiling of the canopy has a geometrical design in relief. It is generally acknowledged to be one of the most extraordinary early Renaissance monuments in England.

There are two brass inscriptions on the wall at the back of the monument, which read as follows (the spelling has been modernised and punctuation inserted):

(Left hand panel) Here lieth buried Sir Robert Dormer of Wing, in the County of Buckingham, knight, who married Jane daughter of John Newdigate of Harefield in the County of Middlesex, esquire, and of Amphelyce his wife, daughter of John Nevell of Rolleston in the County of Nottingham, esquire, which Robert had issue, by the said Jane, Sir William Dormer, knight, his son and heir. Which Robert died the 8 day of July, Anno 1552.

(Right hand panel) Here lieth Dame Mary Dormer, daughter of Sir William Gedney, knight, first wife of Sir William Dormer, knight, who had issue by her two daughters. Jane, the eldest daughter, married unto Dnm. Com. Suaris de Figuria, Duke de Feria, in Spain. Anne, the second daughter, married to Sir Walter Hungerford, knight, son and heir of the lord Hungerford. Which Mary died the 10 of February 1541.

The sarcophagus also bears the date of Sir Robert Dormer's death, 1552. Eric Mercer and Adam White have concluded that the tomb was probably erected after 1567¹²⁸ and possibly as late as 1575,¹²⁹ on the basis that the Feria marriage took place in 1567, and that Sir William Dormer, who is assumed to have erected the monument, died in 1575. This margin can be narrowed to c.1567-70 because reference to Sir Walter Hungerford would probably not have been made after 1570 when he accused his wife, Anne Dormer, of trying to poison him in 1564, and of adultery between 1560 and 1569 with William Darell of Littlecote.¹³⁰ However, the problem with the brass inscriptions is that they are independent of the rest of the structure, and could have been fixed in their present position at any date. Indeed, they could have been moved from other monuments or floor slabs (cf. the tomb of Anthony Cave at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire, 1558-76, where a floor slab was succeeded by a more elaborate wall monument).

The Dormer monument bears a resemblance to a drawing of a triumphal arch or canopy dated 1552 by Robert Pytt, Graver to the Mint, particularly with reference to the lower stage (Plate 4). The fact that such a design could be achieved by an English artist in the early 1550s, albeit using imported sources,¹³¹ suggests that the monument at Wing could be of a similar date. There seems no alternative, on present evidence, but to date it between c.1552 and c.1575, although with some emphasis on the years 1567-70.

Adam White has drawn attention to a number of Italian and French parallels, and the tomb of Jean de Langeauc in Limoges.¹³² The construction of the canopy and ceiling can be compared with the tombs of the second lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Lewis Dyve at Bromham, Thomas Snagge at Marston Moretaine, and John Thomson at Husborne Crawley, all in Bedfordshire (q.v.), and the design of the coffering on the ceiling can be compared with the decoration of the arch of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, and the panel beneath the entablature of the Knightley monument at Fawsley, Northamptonshire (q.v.) (Plates 9, 37 & 40).

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- ² Norcliffe, C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1881, pp.73 and 93.
- ³ D.N.B. Vol. 14, p.53.
- ⁴ Norcliffe, C., (ed.) *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower esquire, Norroy King of Arms* (London: Harleian Society) 1881, p.93.
- ⁵ Summerson, J., *The Unromantic Castle* (London: Thames & Hudson) 1990, p.24.
- ⁶ Cock, Hieronimus, *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...* (Antwerp) 1563.
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- 30 Wills of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558, and Elizabeth Weston (formerly Lovet), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
- 31 i.e. "Virtue survives beyond the grave."
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- 55 Will of Margaret Denton (formerly Margaret Mordaunt), PROB 11/87/267r-270r, 1596.
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- 64 The arms are: (a) Lion passant guardant or (Thompson) quartered with Chadworth, Glover and Smythe, and (b) Azure, a chevron ermine between three eagles displayed or (Gilbert) (of Suffolk and Sussex). The cartouches are similar to those on the Snagge monument at Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire, and can be compared with examples at Enfield palace, Middlesex and the tomb of Sir Thomas Gresham, London.
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- 79 Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, p.497.
- 80 Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, p.501.
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- 84 Pevsner, N., *op. cit.*, 1973, p.380.
- 85 Pevsner, N., *op. cit.*, 1973, pp.226 and 369.
- 86 Rev. Richard Carter, pers. comm..
- 87 Edis, J., "Thomas Kirby - A Royal Connection?", *Church Monuments Society Newsletter*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1995, pp.6-7.
- 88 A suggestion made in Pevsner, N., and Williamson, E., *Buckinghamshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin) The Buildings of England Series, 2nd edition, 1994, p.546.
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- 91 See pp.273-4.
- 92 Will of Richard Covert, PROB 11/62/117r-118r, 1580.
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- 110 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.403.
- 111 Will of Lewis Mordaunt, transcribed in Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.619-625.
- 112 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.330. See also N.R.O. SS 3341 (manuscript copy of the same draft will, containing annotations and minor changes in wording. These do not alter the basic sense of the passage, but Halstead improved on the spelling).
- 113 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.331-332.
- 114 Will of John Mordaunt, PROB 11/286r-287r, 1571. Note that the tomb represents the second lord Mordaunt with both his wives, a requirement not mentioned in the will.
- 115 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p. 601.
- 116 Above the door.
- 117 Will of Lewis Mordaunt, transcribed in Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.619-625.
- 118 B.L.A., HG Uncat 9.
- 119 B.L.A., HG 12/6/46.
- 120 Pevsner, N., *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Harmondsworth: Penguin) The Buildings of England Series, 1968, p.160.
- 121 White, A., *op. cit.*, 1991, p.122.
- 122 B.L.A., HG Uncat 9.
- 123 Will of Joan Mordaunt (formerly Joan Fermor), PROB 11/79/186v-187r, 1592.
- 124 Will of Joan Mordaunt (formerly Joan Fermor), PROB 11/79/186v-187r, 1592.
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- 126 Will of John Mordaunt, PROB 11/286r-287r, 1571.
- 127 The date 1607 being the suggested approximate date of Lewis Mordaunt's tomb, on the basis that it may have been influenced by the tomb of Princess Sophia in Westminster Abbey.
- 128 Mercer, E., *English Art 1556-1625* (Oxford University Press) Oxford History of English Art Series, Vol. 7, 1962, pp.222-3, Note 2. The inscription mentions the Duke of Feria, a title not created until 1567.
- 129 White, A. "Tudor Classicism", *Architectural Review*, No. 171, 1982, pp.52-8. Sir Robert Dormer's son, Sir William, died in 1575.
- 130 D.N.B., Vol. 28, pp.260 and 253-261, *passim*.

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- 131 Wells-Cole, A., *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan England: The Influence of Continental Prints 1558-1625* (London: Yale University Press) 1997, p.12.
- 132 White, A. "Tudor Classicism", *Architectural Review*, No. 171, 1982, pp.52-8.

2. Biographical Notes

These biographical notes, arranged alphabetically by surname, refer to the main events in the lives of the leading figures mentioned in the main text. They are illustrative, and are intended as a guide to support the information Volume 1. The lengths of the descriptions vary, concentrating on details that do not appear elsewhere in this thesis.

Many of the people described here appear on the family tree in Appendix 8, but they have not all been cross-referenced to avoid cluttering the text with footnotes.

Apreece, Robert (c.1550-c.1600)

Of North Crawley, Buckinghamshire. He was the son-in-law of Joan Fermor (q.v.), named as her sole executor in 1591,¹ and married to her daughter Joan by her first marriage to Robert Wilford.² Robert Apreece may be the same person as Robert Price esquire who was overseer of the will of Elizabeth Lovet in 1577.³ Lewis Dyve's (q.v.) mother was Anne Apreece of Hanslope, Buckinghamshire, the neice of Robert Apreece.

Ashfield, Sir Edmund (c.1500-1578)

Of Shenley, Buckinghamshire. His daughters married into the Lee, Fettiplace and Fortescue families, and he named Thomas Bromley (q.v.) as overseer of his will.⁴ His grandchildren (Lee and Fettiplace) erected his elaborate tomb at Shenley (q.v.),⁵ for which he provided £30 or £40.⁶

Sir Edmund Ashfield was involved in a survey of the Totternhoe stone quarries in 1573:

"Com. Hertf. et Buck. Inquisitio indentata capta apud *Asshridge* in Com.' predictis vicesmo die Octobris, anno regni serenissime domine nostre Elizabethhe... sextodecimo coram *Edmundo Asshfeilde* milite, supervisore omnium terrarum et possessionum domine regine Com.' sui Buck, et *Ricardo Younge*, supervisore...Hertf.' virtute Commissionis dicte domine regine eis de Scaccario direct.' gere.' dat.' apud Westm. ultimo die Junii anno regni sui sextodecimo...per sacramentum [names given] viz...Presentant insuper quod

est quedam quarrea lapidum apud *Totternhall* infra Com.' Bedf.' pertinen.' dicte domui de *Asshridge*, que nunquam arrentat.' fuit, eo quod supponitur esse aut parvi aut nullius valoris."⁷

Barham, Thomas (c.1540-c.1616)

Of Teston, Kent. His daughter Anne married Sir Oliver Boteler (q.v.), who acted as his executor.⁸ He was probably the same Thomas Barham who was brother-in-law and overseer to Richard Covert (q.v.) in 1579.⁹

Boteler, Sir Oliver (c.1570-1632)

Of Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire, and Teston, Kent.¹⁰ Married Anne, daughter of Thomas Barham (q.v.)¹¹ of Teston, making him a distant relation of Richard Covert (q.v.). Named as executor to Thomas Barham c.1617.¹² One of his sons married into the Apsley family, probably of Thakeham in Sussex (cf. the Apsley monument at Thakeham). He erected a cenotaph at Sharnbrook in 1618 with a long account of his genealogy.

Bowyer, Henry (c.1530-1589)

Of Cuckfield, Sussex. Married Elizabeth Vaux,¹³ thereby relating him by marriage to Joan Fermor (q.v.).¹⁴

Bromley, Thomas (c.1530-1587)

Married Elizabeth Fortescue, daughter of Sir Adrian Fortescue. Attended Oxford University, was at the Middle Temple 1560, and took an active part in the trial of the duke of Norfolk in 1571. Lord chancellor from 1579. Took part in the trial of Mary Queen of Scots in 1586. Prior to 1580 he lived near the Old Bailey, but was living near Charing Cross in 1580 and 1583. His tomb is in Westminster Abbey.¹⁵ Entered into a legal agreement in 1563 with John, second lord Mordaunt (q.v.), and others.¹⁶ Overseer of the will of Sir Edmund Ashfield (q.v.) in 1577.¹⁷ The Fortescue relationship connected him to Sir Edmund Ashfield (q.v.) and George Fettiplace¹⁸ (q.v.).

Brudenell, Sir Edmund (c.1530-1584)

Builder of Deene Park, Northamptonshire, and therefore responsible for setting up the *Amicus fidelis protexio fortis* chimney piece there in 1571. Married Agnes Bussy.¹⁹

Witnessed sale document for Edward Gryffyn (q.v.) of Dingley, Northamptonshire, in 1583 relating to land in Fetter Lane, St Dunstan in the West, London.²⁰ Brudenell had a servant named Christopher Conyers.²¹

Caius, Dr John (1510-1573)

Doctor of medicine. Visited Padua 1539, then toured Italy, France and Germany until 1544. Refounded Gonville Hall, Cambridge, 1557. Erected a tomb in old St Paul's Cathedral, London, to the memory of Dr Thomas Linacre (q.v.). Was persuaded by his friend Thomas Hatcher (q.v.) to write an autobiographical sketch *De libris propriis liber* c.1570. Friend of Archbishop Parker, who was his literary executor. Adhered to Roman Catholicism throughout his life.²² Builder of the Gate of Virtue at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1565-7 (q.v.).²³ Witnessed the will of John, second lord Mordaunt (q.v.) in 1571, his neighbour in the parish of St Bartholomew the Less, London.²⁴ Mentioned Sir Robert Catlin (q.v.) and his wife as friends in his will dated 1573.²⁵

Catlin, Sir Robert (c.1520-1574)

Of Sutton, Bedfordshire. Studied at the Middle Temple. Reader from 1547, serjeant at law from 1554, justice of the common pleas from October 1558, chief justice of the queen's bench from January 1559 until 1574. He married Ann Boles, and his only daughter married and outlived Sir John Spencer (q.v.).²⁶ Named as a supervisor to the will of John, first lord Mordaunt (q.v.) in 1560.²⁷ Helped lord Mordaunt in a legal dispute concerning Drayton Park in 1551.²⁸ Dr John Caius (q.v.) described Catlin as a friend in his will dated 1573.²⁹ In 1566 Catlin was party to an indenture with Sir John Spencer and Thomas Nicolles (q.v.), amongst others.³⁰ He was buried at Sutton in September 1574, his wife was buried at Sutton in March 1588.³¹ A brass was erected to their memory.³²

Cave family of Maherne, Worcestershire

Thomas Cave of Maherne, Worcestershire (d.1596-7) and his children, Francis, Jane, and Richard, were probably related to the Cave families of Stanford-upon Avon, Northamptonshire, and Chicheley, Buckinghamshire (Ambrose and Anthony Cave, q.v.). Thomas Cave's brother in law was Anthony Harford, and a Richard Harford (q.v. Richard Harford, d.1575) witnessed his will.³³

Cave, Sir Ambrose (c.1500-1568)

Of Stanford-upon-Avon, Northamptonshire, son of Richard Cave, and brother of Anthony Cave (q.v.). Visited Rhodes in 1525 as a knight hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem. Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire 1548, M.P. for Warwickshire 1557, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 1558. He married Margaret Willington (widow of Thomas Holte), and his daughter Margaret married Henry Knollys (q.v.).³⁴ He acted as executor to his brother, Anthony Cave (q.v.) in 1555.³⁵ His tomb at Stanford-upon-Avon (q.v.) is a severe classical aedicule. His executors and overseers included Edward Williams, Henry Knollys, Sir Thomas Sackville, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Edward Saunders (all q.v.).

Cave, Anthony (c.1500-1558)

Of Chicheley, Buckinghamshire, son of Richard Cave, and brother of Ambrose Cave (q.v.). Married Elizabeth Lovet. Merchant of the staple at Calais, and founder of a grammar school at Lathbury, Buckinghamshire. Party to an indenture dated 1553 with Sir Edward Saunders and others. Had bought land from Sir Robert Dormer (q.v.) and "Mr Denny" before 1555 (Sir Anthony Denny, q.v.). His executors and overseers included Ambrose Cave, Thomas Lovet, and Edward Saunders (all q.v.).³⁶ His widow erected a classical monument to his memory at Chicheley (q.v.).

Cecil, Sir William, lord Burghley (1520-1596)

Student at Gray's Inn from 1541. M.P. for Stamford 1547. Secretary of state and privy councillor from 1550. Chancellor of the order of the garter. Chief secretary of state from 1558. Chancellor of Cambridge University from 1559. M.P. for Lincolnshire 1559. Master of the court of wards 1561. Lord high treasurer from 1572.³⁷ Named as overseer to the will of Sir Ambrose Cave in 1568.³⁸ Wrote to Peter Osborne (q.v.) in 1575 regarding a threat to a patent, involving Sir Christopher Hatton (q.v.).³⁹ Named as an executor to the will of his father in law Sir Anthony Cooke (q.v.) in 1576, and was also a witness.⁴⁰ Mentioned as a friend in the will of Sir John Spencer (q.v.) in 1585.⁴¹ Builder of the Roman Staircase and the chimney piece in the Great Hall at Burghley House (q.v.).

Conyers, Elizabeth (c.1545-1572)

Second daughter of John, Lord Conyers. Married Thomas Darcy, by whom she had three children. A substantial classical tomb was erected to her memory at Hornby, Yorkshire, dated 1578 (q.v.).⁴²

Cooke, Sir Anthony (1504-1576)

Of Havering, Essex, but buried at Romford. His executors included Sir Nicholas Bacon and his son-in-law William Cecil (q.v.), who was also a witness of his will.⁴³ His tomb is a very fine early renaissance example (q.v.).

Copley, Thomas (1514-1584)

Of Gatton, Surrey. A Protestant and an M.P. until 1570 when he moved abroad and became one of the chief Roman Catholic exiles. He was made a baron by the King of France.⁴⁴ His will indicates that he visited, or had had friends or houses in, Paris, "Beren in the land of Wasse neer Andwerp" (unidentified), Dunkirk, Rouen, Tournai, and Louvain.⁴⁵ By implication, he employed the mason William Flint to build the church at Gatton, Surrey.⁴⁶

Cordell, Sir William (c.1515-1581)

Member of Lincoln's Inn from 1538, called to the bar 1544. M.P. for Steyning 1553. Solicitor general to Mary from 1553. Master of the rolls from 1557. M.P. for Suffolk 1558 and speaker of the House of Commons. M.P. for Middlesex 1563. M.P. for Westminster 1571.⁴⁷ Named as executor and supervisor to the will of Edward Gryffyn (q.v.) of Dingley, Northamptonshire, in 1569,⁴⁸ supervisor to the will of Alexander Denton (q.v.) of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire, in 1576,⁴⁹ and executor to Sir Robert Catlyn (q.v.) of Sutton, Bedfordshire, in 1574.⁵⁰

Covert, Jane (c.1525-1586)

Daughter of John Covert of Slaugham, Sussex. Married firstly Francis Fleming, and secondly Sir John Fettiplace (q.v.). Her classical tomb at Slaugham was erected by her nephew and executor, William Covert.⁵¹

Covert, Richard (c.1520-1580)

Of Slaugham, Sussex. Son of John Covert, and therefore Jane Covert's brother (q.v.). Married firstly Ann Hendley, and secondly Cicely Bowes.⁵² He employed a freemason called William Flint to build his tomb at Slaugham.⁵³ One of his overseers was Thomas Barham, who may have been father-in-law to Oliver Boteler. His son Walter Covert was named as sole executor.⁵⁴

Cowper, Edward (c.1540-1596)

Clerk and treasurer of Hereford Cathedral.⁵⁵ Named as executor to Richard Willison (q.v.).⁵⁶ Also a witness to the will of Richard Harford (q.v.) in 1575.⁵⁷

Cromwell, Gregory (c.1515-1551⁵⁸)

Son of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex. At Cambridge University in 1528. Married Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour (also sister to Jane Seymour and to Edward Seymour, first earl of Hertford and duke of Somerset, c.1506-1552).⁵⁹ His tomb at Launde Abbey, Leicestershire, is a fine early renaissance aedicule (q.v.).

Darcy family of Hornby, Yorkshire

Elizabeth Darcy (c.1530-c.1600) was daughter of Sir Arthur Darcy, and granddaughter of Thomas Lord Darcy of the North who had been executed in 1537 after the Pilgrimage of Grace. She married Lewis, third lord Mordaunt (q.v.). Henry Darcy (c.1530-c.1600) was the eldest son of Sir Arthur Darcy, and married Katherine Tyrwhitt, daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt (q.v.). Thomas Darcy (c.1530-1605) was second son of Sir Arthur Darcy and married Elizabeth Conyers of Hornby, Yorkshire.⁶⁰ Henry and Thomas were executors of the will of John, first lord Mordaunt.⁶¹ These three people probably erected the memorial to Thomas lord Darcy at Aldgate, London (q.v.).

Denny, Sir Anthony (1501-c.1549)

Began his carrer at St John's College, Cambridge. Groom of the stool and executor to Henry VIII. Knighted 1544. He married Joan Champernon and was buried at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. Dr John Caius dedicated the second volume of his *Galeni libri aliquot Graeci* to Anthony Denny, published at Basle in or after 1544. The date of his death is disputed, between 1549 and 1551.⁶² He was paymaster of the works at Whitehall, and worked in a public capacity at Hatfield and elsewhere.⁶³ Anthony Cave (q.v.) had bought land in Lathbury from "Mr Denny" according to the accounts attached to his will dated 1555.⁶⁴ His daughter Douglas Denny (d.1598), was the first wife of John Dyve, son of Lewis Dyve (q.v.).⁶⁵

Denton, Alexander (c.1542-1577)

Of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire. Son of Thomas Denton (q.v.) and Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.). Married firstly Anne daughter of Richard Willison (d.25 October 1566), and secondly Mary Martin (d.1574), daughter of Sir Roger Martin, lord mayor of London in 1567.⁶⁶ Named as supervisor to the will of his father in law Richard Willison (q.v.).⁶⁷ Buried at Hillesden, Buckinghamshire, in a classical monument erected by his mother. Sir William Cordell (q.v.) was one of his overseers, and his half-brother George Fettiplace (q.v.) was an executor.⁶⁸ Alexander Denton was mentioned in the will of Richard Harford (q.v.) of Bosbury, Herefordshire, in 1575.⁶⁹ Denton had a servant, William Cox, who probably worked for Gabriel Fowler (q.v.) of Tilsworth, Bedfordshire, after 1577.⁷⁰

Denton, Thomas (c.1500-1558)

Of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire. Second husband of Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.) and father of Alexander Denton. He left his library to his son Alexander Denton (q.v.), and several silver pots inscribed *Vivit post funera virtus*, including one to John Fettiplace (q.v.).⁷¹ Sir Edmund Peckham (q.v.) was named as overseer of his will in 1557.⁷² He was also a friend of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Dormer, Sir Robert (c.1500-1552)

Of Wing, Buckinghamshire. Lieutenant to Henry VIII, married Jane Newdigate, daughter of John Newdigate (q.v.),⁷³ who outlived him.⁷⁴ Anthony Cave (q.v.) bought land from him before 1555.⁷⁵ Sir Robert Dormer's extraordinary renaissance tomb at Wing (q.v.) was probably erected by his son William Dormer (q.v.).

Dormer, Sir William (c.1525-1575)

Of Wing, Buckinghamshire. Married Mary Gedney, daughter of Sir William Gedney,⁷⁶ making him a distant relative of John Thomson of Husborne Crawley (q.v.).⁷⁷ One of William Dormer's daughters, Anne, married Sir Walter Hungerford (1532-96) in about 1558. In 1570 Hungerford accused her of trying to poison him in 1564, and of adultery

between 1560 and 1569 with William Darell of Littlecote. After her acquittal she retired to live with the English Roman Catholics at Louvain. She was at Namur in 1581 and died at Louvain in 1603.⁷⁸ Sir Walter Hungerford was related to Elizabeth Hungerford, the wife of Sir John Fettiplace (q.v.)⁷⁹ William Darell was almost certainly related by marriage to the Hungerford family.⁸⁰

Dyve, Lewis (c.1520-c.1592⁸¹)

Of Bromham, Bedfordshire. His mother was Anne Apreece (cf. Robert Apreece, above). Married Mary, daughter of Sir William Strickland (cf. Christopher Stickland of Yelden, Bedfordshire, mentioned in the will of Robert Brodbridge, who was possibly a client of the freemason William Flint of Gatton, Surrey⁸²). Lewis Dyve was party to an indenture in 1568 with Oliver St John, Lewis Mordaunt, Sir Richard Knightley, Sir Robert Lane, Thomas Tresham esquire, and Arthur Grey (all q.v.). His son John Dyve (c.1550-1607) was his executor. John had married Douglas Denny (d.1598), daughter of Sir Anthony Denny (q.v.) and then Beatrice Walcott.⁸³ Lewis Dyve's servant William Dix and his godson Lewis Goodfellow (q.v.) had important connections with other families in this group.⁸⁴ Lewis was buried at Bromham under an elaborate alabaster tomb in the north aisle (q.v.).

Eyton, Lawrence (c.1530-c.1590)

Servant and executor to Edward Saunders in 1576.⁸⁵ With one Lewis Gent he sold land at Muscott, Northamptonshire, to Sir John Spencer.⁸⁶

Fermor, Elizabeth (c.1520-c.1580)

Daughter of Richard Fermor of Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, married Thomas Lovet (q.v.).

Fermor, Joan (c.1520-1592⁸⁷)

Daughter of Richard Fermor of Easton Neston. Married firstly Robert Wilford (d.1545), by whom she had three daughters, and secondly John, second lord Mordaunt (q.v.), by whom she had Lewis, third lord Mordaunt.⁸⁸ She was related to Sir Thomas Smith (q.v.) through the Wilford family (q.v.), and she and the second lord Mordaunt were neighbours of Dr John Caius in London.⁸⁹ She was party to an indenture in 1563 with Thomas Nicolles (q.v.),⁹⁰ and she was named as her husband's executrix in 1571.⁹¹ Joan Fermor stands with Lewis Mordaunt as perhaps the closest connection with at least three of the families who erected monuments in this group, namely the Knightleys, Caves, and Dentons. Her sole executor was her son-in-law, Robert Apreece (q.v.), and Jerome Weston (q.v.) witnessed her will. She is commemorated in the alabaster tomb in the north aisle at Turvey, Bedfordshire.

Fermor, Mary (c.1520-1573)

Daughter of Richard Fermor of Easton Neston, married Sir Richard Knightley (q.v.).

Fermor, Thomas (c.1520-c.1580)

Son of Richard Fermor of Easton Neston, later brother-in-law to John, second baron Mordaunt (q.v.), and named as his executor in 1571.⁹²

Fettiplace, George (c.1530-1577)

London-based lawyer, son of Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.) by her first marriage to Edmund Fettiplace, and therefore half-brother to Alexander Denton (q.v.). George was named as executor of Alexander's will in 1576.⁹³ George Fettiplace was owed twenty nobles a year by "Mr Fowler" in 1577, possibly Gabriel Fowler (q.v.).⁹⁴ He was involved in a gift relating to Christ's Hospital, London, along with Sir Walter Mildmay (q.v.).⁹⁵

Fettiplace, Sir John (c.1530-1580)

Of Bessels Leigh, Berkshire. Son of Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.) by her first marriage to Edmund Fettiplace, and therefore half-brother to Alexander Denton (q.v.). Married firstly Elizabeth Hungerford c.1550 and had seven children by her. Married secondly Jane, daughter of John Covert esquire, and widow of Sir Francis Fleming. He had at least four children by her, and she outlived him by six years. Buried at Appleton, Berkshire, where his son and executor, Bessels Fettiplace, erected a tomb for him in 1593 (q.v.).⁹⁶ He was bequeathed a silver pot inscribed *Vivit post funera virtus* by the will of Thomas Denton in 1557.⁹⁷

Fitzlewis, Ela (c.1500-c.1538)

Daughter of Richard Fitzlewis of Thornton, Essex, married firstly (c.1520) Sir Thomas Kemp, and secondly (c.1530) John, second lord Mordaunt.⁹⁸

Fowler, Gabriel (c.1530-1582)

Of Tilsworth, Bedfordshire. Son of Edward Fowler, married firstly (c.1555) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Moore of Bicester, Oxfordshire, and had five children by her.⁹⁹ Married secondly (c.1570) Elizabeth Saunders, daughter of Sir Edward Saunders and had three daughters by her.¹⁰⁰ He had a tenant, Raphael Moore (q.v.), also mentioned by Thomas Lovet (q.v.),¹⁰¹ and he had a servant, William Cox, who may be the same as the one mentioned by Alexander Denton (q.v.).¹⁰² Gabriel Fowler may have been the "Mr Fowler" who owed twenty nobles a year to George Fettiplace in 1577.¹⁰³

Gilbert, Dorothy (c.1540-1620)

Daughter of Richard Gilbert, married John Thomson (q.v.) of Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire.¹⁰⁴ There is some confusion about her date of birth, and she may have had children from a previous marriage.¹⁰⁵ She was sworn as executor to her husband's (undated) will, but no executor was named in it, and she appears on the alabaster tomb at Husborne Crawley (q.v.).

Goodfellow, William (c.1520-1579)

Of Pavenham, Bedfordshire. Servant, bailiff and executor to John, second lord Mordaunt (q.v.). Lewis Dyve (q.v.) was godfather to William's son, Lewis Goodfellow, and appears to have acted as his guardian after 1579.¹⁰⁶ Lewis Goodfellow was buried at Stagsden, Bedfordshire, in 1612, and through his marriage to Anne Downes in 1582 he became distantly related to Lewis Dyve.¹⁰⁷

Grey, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton

Mentioned by Lewis Dyve (q.v.) as being party to an indenture dated 1568.¹⁰⁸ He was buried in a crude classical monument at Whaddon, Buckinghamshire.

Gryffyn, Edward (c.1510-c.1571)

Of Dingley, Northamptonshire. He was supervisor to the will of Valentine Knightley (q.v.),¹⁰⁹ and Thomas Nicolles (q.v.) left him two books in 1568.¹¹⁰ Gryffyn had an interest in land at Fetter Lane, St Dunstan in the West, and Edmund Brudenell (q.v.) witnessed a sale document relating to this in 1583.¹¹¹ Sir Walter Mildmay (q.v.) and Sir William Cordell (q.v.) were executors and supervisors of Gryffyn's will in 1569.¹¹² He had houses at Dingley and Braybrooke, and was buried at Dingley in a renaissance tomb that Sir John Summerson has attributed to the Thorpe family.¹¹³

Hall, Edmund (c.1530-c.1593)

Of Greatford, Lincolnshire. Surveyor at Burghley House in 1564, where he knew John Norris (q.v.) and Peter Kemp (q.v.).¹¹⁴ One of the supervisors of his will was Francis Harrington, who also supervised the will of Thomas Hatcher (q.v.) of Careby, Leicestershire, in 1583. Edmund Hall and Thomas Hatcher also had a connection through the Rome or Room family, James Rome being Hall's tenant, and Elizabeth Room being Hatcher's acquaintance.¹¹⁵

Harford, Richard¹¹⁶ (c.1540-c.1575)

Of Bosbury, Herefordshire. Married firstly Martha Foxe (d.1558), and secondly Katherine Purefoy, daughter of Richard Purefoy of Northamptonshire and probably a relation of Robert Purefoy, Bishop of Hereford.¹¹⁷ The Purefoys were related to the Knightley family¹¹⁸ (q.v. Richard Knightley). Edward Cowper (q.v.) was a witness to Richard Harford's will in 1575, and Richard Seborne, another executor, was a relation of Richard Willison (q.v.).¹¹⁹ Alexander Denton (q.v.) was also mentioned in Richard Harford's will, as was his mother-in-law, Mrs Willison, the widow of Richard Willison. Harford was related to the Cave family of Maherne, Worcestershire, who were probably related to Ambrose and Anthony Cave (q.v.). Richard Harford ordered that his own tomb be constructed by the sculptor John Gildon at Bosbury during his lifetime,¹²⁰ and he also commissioned a tomb for his father, John Harford (d.1559) from Richard Parker of Burton-upon-Trent c.1570-1. This was completed by John Gildon and dated 1573.¹²¹

Harman, Edmund (c.1509¹²²-1577)

Barber surgeon of Burford, Oxfordshire. His daughter Agnes married Edmund Bray, and he was therefore distantly connected to the Norres and Peckham families (q.v.) of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire.¹²³ His cenotaph at Burford is an advanced and important renaissance design.

Hatcher, John (c.1510-c.1587)

Doctor of physic, of Careby, Leicestershire, and St John's College, Cambridge, father of Thomas Hatcher (q.v.). Vice-chancellor of Cambridge University November 1579.¹²⁴ Witnessed the will of John, first lord Mordaunt.¹²⁵ Mentioned a Mr Mordaunt (probably George Mordaunt) of Thundersley, Essex, in his will of 1584.¹²⁶

Hatcher, Thomas (c.1530-1583)

Of Careby, Leicestershire, son of Dr John Hatcher of Cambridge (q.v.). At Kings College Cambridge 1555, admitted to Gray's Inn 1565, personal friend of Dr John Caius (q.v.).¹²⁷ Probably acquainted with the surveyor Edmund Hall (q.v.).

Hatton, Sir Christopher (1540-1591)

Of Holdenby, Northamptonshire. Admitted to the Inner Temple 1559, captain of the queen's bodyguard 1572, lord chancellor 1587, took part in the trial of the Puritan Sir Richard Knightley (q.v.).¹²⁸ Correspondence with Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.) survives.¹²⁹ Overseer of the will of Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.) in 1576.¹³⁰ At least partly responsible for building work at Holdenby and at Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire.¹³¹ His tomb in old St Paul's Cathedral, London, is alleged to have been designed by Richard Colt, and was made by Richard Stevens about 1593.¹³²

Hussey, Agnes (c.1520-1588)

Second wife of Edward Saunders (q.v.), married after 1563.¹³³ She may have been Agnes Maynard originally, with the various daughters named in her will from previous marriages, apparently to men named Hussey and Wentworth.¹³⁴ Her son-in-law was Gabriel Fowler (q.v.) and her daughter Mary was married to Sir George Fermor.

Isham, Sir Eusebius (c.1550-1626)

Of Pytchley, Northamptonshire, where he built Pytchley Old Hall (q.v.). He was related to, and descended from, the Poulton family of Desborough, Northamptonshire (cf. Ferdinando Poulton, q.v.).¹³⁵ See also the entry for Thomas Nicolles of Pytchley.

Kemp, Peter (c.1530-1576)

Surveyor at Burghley House, associated with Edmund Hall and John Norris (q.v.).¹³⁶ His executor was Richard Shute, who knew Sir Augustine Nicolls, son of Thomas Nicolls (q.v.).¹³⁷

Knightley, Sir Richard (1533-1615)

Of Fawsley, Northamptonshire. Knighted 1566. M.P. for Northampton and sheriff of Northamptonshire. Concealed a Puritan printing press at Fawsley in 1588, and was arrested in 1589. Married Mary Fermor in 1566 (she d.1573) and then Elizabeth Seymour (d.1602), youngest daughter of Edward Seymour, first earl of Hertford and duke of Somerset, c.1506-1552.¹³⁸ Richard Knightley was named as an executor to the will of his father, Valentine Knightley (q.v.),¹³⁹ and he was party to an indenture with Lewis Dyve (q.v.) in 1568.¹⁴⁰

Knightley, Valentine (c.1500-1566)

Buried in the renaissance tomb at Fawsley, Northamptonshire. His executors and overseers included his son Sir Richard Knightley, Thomas Spencer, Francis Saunders, Thomas Nicolles, Sir John Spencer, Edward Gryffyn, and Sir Robert Lane (q.v.).

Knollys, Sir Francis (c.1514-1596)

Lived at Frankfurt during Mary's reign and retained puritan tendencies throughout his life. Vice chamberlain of the royal household 1559. Treasurer of the royal chamber 1566. Treasurer of the royal household 1572.¹⁴¹ Named as overseer of the will of Ambrose Cave (q.v.) in 1568. His eldest son Henry Knollys married Margaret Cave (c.1549-1606), daughter of Ambrose Cave, and was an executor to Ambrose Cave.¹⁴²

Lane, Sir Robert (c.1530-c.1590)

Supervisor of the will of Valentine Knightley (q.v.) in 1564,¹⁴³ and party to an indenture with Lewis Dyve (q.v.) in 1568.¹⁴⁴

Larkyn, Thomas (c.1530-c.1590)

Witness of the will of John, first lord Mordaunt in 1560.¹⁴⁵ He was probably the "Mr Dr Larkyn", son-in-law of John Hatcher (q.v.).¹⁴⁶

Linacre, Dr Thomas (1460-1524)

Visited Venice and Rome in the 1480s, then Vicenza and Padua where he was made M.D.. Tutor to Prince Arthur. A founder of the College of Physicians in 1518. John Wilford (q.v.) was a witness to his will in 1524.¹⁴⁷ His tomb was erected in old St Paul's Cathedral, London, by Dr John Caius (q.v.) in 1557.¹⁴⁸

Loveday, William (c.1545-c.1606)

Witness of the will of Richard Weston (1572),¹⁴⁹ servant to Elizabeth Lovet (1577),¹⁵⁰ and friend to Jerome Weston (1603).¹⁵¹

Lovet, Elizabeth (c.1510-1577)

Married Anthony Cave (d.1558), John Newdigate (d.1565) and Richard Weston (d.1572) (all q.v.). Her executors were her sons in law Griffith Hamden and Jerome Weston.¹⁵² She put up the monument to Anthony Cave in the church at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire, in 1576.

Lovet, Thomas (c.1520-c.1583)

Of Astwell, in the parish of Wappenham, Northamptonshire. Married Elizabeth Fermor (q.v.). Brother of Elizabeth Lovet (q.v.), and overseer of the will of her husband Anthony Cave (q.v.).¹⁵³ Thomas Lovet had a tenant, Raphael Moore, mentioned in the will of Gabriel Fowler (q.v.). He had business dealings with Sir George Peckham (q.v. Sir Edmund Peckham), and his executor was his cousin George Gifford.¹⁵⁴

Mildmay, Sir Walter (c.1520-1589)

Of Apethorpe, Northamptonshire, and St Bartholomew the Great, London. Lawyer, chancellor of the exchequer 1566, established Emmanuel College Cambridge 1584-1586, built by Ralph Symons. His son, Anthony Mildmay, was involved in alterations to Fotheringhay church (q.v.) in 1573.¹⁵⁵ Executor for Edward Gryffyn in 1569,¹⁵⁶ for Sir Robert Tyrwhitt (q.v.) 1572,¹⁵⁷ and for Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.) 1576.¹⁵⁸ Involved in a gift of two messuages in St Botolph, Aldgate, with George Fettiplace (q.v.).¹⁵⁹ A friend of Sir John Spencer (q.v.),¹⁶⁰ and Sir William Cecil.¹⁶¹

More: See Moore

Mordaunt, George (c.1520-c.1590)

Of Thundersley, Essex, probably a friend of John Hatcher (q.v.). Fourth son of John, first lord Mordaunt, and named as one of his executors in 1560.¹⁶²

Mordaunt, Henry, second earl of Peterborough (c.1624-1697)

Governor of Tangier 1661, privy councillor 1674, became a Roman Catholic in 1687, arrested for high treason 1689, but later released. Author of *Succinct Genealogies*, published in 1685 under the pseudonym Robert Halstead.¹⁶³

Mordaunt, Sir John (c.1440-1504)

Of Turvey, Bedfordshire. Politician, soldier, veteran of the battles of Barnet and Stoke Field, a privy councillor, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, chief justice of Chester, and speaker of the House of Commons.¹⁶⁴ Father of John, first lord Mordaunt.

Mordaunt, Sir John, first lord Mordaunt (c.1480-1562)¹⁶⁵

Of Turvey, Bedfordshire. Son of Sir John Mordaunt, married Elizabeth Vere, daughter of Sir Henry Vere of Addington, Buckinghamshire. Attendant to Prince Arthur.¹⁶⁶ Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1509,¹⁶⁷ and followed Henry VIII "in his First Wars",¹⁶⁸ probably at Guienne, Brest, Guinegate and Flodden in 1512-1513.¹⁶⁹ Escorted Margaret Tudor, the Queen of Scots, from Stony Stratford to St Albans in 1515 on her flight to London.¹⁷⁰ Summoned to court during a visit of the French ambassador,¹⁷¹ attended Catherine of Aragon with ten servants and four horses in June 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.¹⁷² Present at Gravelines in July 1520 when Henry met the emperor Charles V,¹⁷³ and received Charles again at Canterbury in 1522.¹⁷⁴ Privy councillor 1526, and in 1530 he was one of the commissioners investigating the late cardinal Wolsey's property.¹⁷⁵ Accompanied Henry to Calais with twelve men in 1532,¹⁷⁶ received Anne Boleyn at the Tower when she came to be crowned in 1533,^{177, 178} and took to the field during the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.^{179, 180} In the same year he participated in Anne Boleyn's trial,¹⁸¹ and in 1537 he carried the banner at Jane Seymour's funeral.¹⁸² Summoned to London in 1539 with twenty servants to greet Anne of Cleves.¹⁸³ From about 1535 his relationship with the king became strained at times and he withdrew from national affairs after 1540, perhaps partly because of intermittent poor health.¹⁸⁴ His fall from favour was possibly accelerated by a bungled attempt to secure Harrold Priory, Bedfordshire, by deceit,¹⁸⁵ and he was summoned to London to hear certain "weighty causes and considerations" which were to be declared to him "by the mouth of our chancellor".¹⁸⁶ In 1538 he was admonished for not adhering to his duty to justice, notably against "the privy maintainers of that Papistical Faction", and he was commanded to "wax a new man", with a warning that if this gentle proceeding did not take effect that there would be a just punishment of a sharper sort.¹⁸⁷ In 1540 the fall and execution of Cromwell, a personal friend,¹⁸⁸ confirmed his retirement. By 1553 he acknowledged that he was an

"Old Man" in a grovelling letter to Queen Mary apologising

"for that I was so prompt, and ready to set forth Proclamation, of the Title of the late Usurper Lady *Jane*, and to reject your most gracious Highness's Letters and Proclamation",¹⁸⁹

and he was excused from the parliaments of 1553 and 1554 on the grounds of his "Age and Impotency,"¹⁹⁰ which would "not well suffer you to Travel, without some danger of your Health".¹⁹¹ In 1558 he entered into a legal agreement involving Sir Robert Throckmorton (q.v.) and Thomas Nicolles (q.v.).¹⁹² His executors were named in 1560 as Sir Robert Tyrwhitt (q.v.), Henry Darcy (q.v.), Thomas Nicolles (q.v.), Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.), George Mordaunt (q.v.), and Thomas Darcy (q.v.). John Hatcher was also a witness.¹⁹³ In 1510 he was granted the right to difference his arms with an eagle's head,¹⁹⁴ in 1520 he was knighted,¹⁹⁵ and in 1532 he was made baron Mordaunt of Turvey.¹⁹⁶ He secured lucrative marriages for his own children, notably with the families of Fitz Lewis, Cheney, Fettiplace, Denton and Danvers.¹⁹⁷ He was buried at Turvey under two-tier monument in the form of a triumphal arch.

Mordaunt, John, second lord Mordaunt (c.1508-1571)

Of Turvey, Bedfordshire. Son of John first lord Mordaunt. M.P. for Bedfordshire and privy councillor to Queen Mary. Knighted 1555. Married Ela Fitzlewis (q.v.), widow of Sir Thomas Kemp (c.1530) and Joan Fermor (q.v.), widow of Robert Wilford (c.1560).¹⁹⁸ He was party to an indenture in 1563 including his wife Joan Fermor, his son Lewis Mordaunt, Thomas Nicolles, Thomas Bromley (q.v.) John Talbot of Grafton Manor, Worcestershire, and Sir Thomas Lucas, father-in-law of Sir Arthur Throckmorton of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire (q.v.),¹⁹⁹ who employed Garat Johnson to make a chimney piece in 1595.²⁰⁰ John Mordaunt's executors, named in 1571, were his wife Joan Fermor, his brother in law Thomas Fermor, Edmund Plowden, and his servant William Goodfellow (q.v.). His London neighbour, Dr John Caius (q.v.) was a witness.²⁰¹ His alabaster tomb at Turvey contains effigies of both his wives.

Mordaunt, Lewis, third lord Mordaunt (1538-1601)

Of Turvey, Bedfordshire, and Drayton House, Northamptonshire. Son of John, second lord Mordaunt, and his first wife Ela Fitzlewis. Married Elizabeth Darcy. Took part in the trial of Mary Queen of Scots and Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk.²⁰² Executor for his grandfather, John, first lord Mordaunt.²⁰³ Correspondence survives linking him with William Cecil (q.v.), Thomas Cecil, Christopher Hatton (q.v.), Robert Devereux, Thomas Radcliffe, Robert Dudley and Thomas Tresham (q.v.).²⁰⁴ He was party to an indenture with Lewis Dyve (q.v.) in 1568,²⁰⁵ and to another indenture in 1563 with his father John second lord Mordaunt (q.v.), his stepmother Joan Fermor (q.v.), and Thomas Nicolles (q.v.).²⁰⁶ Lewis Mordaunt was described as a "dear friend" by Thomas Snagge (q.v.) in 1591.²⁰⁷

Mordaunt, Margaret (c.1510-c.1596²⁰⁸)

Daughter of John, first lord Mordaunt, married firstly Edmund Fettiplace (c.1530) and then Thomas Denton (c.1540).²⁰⁹ She acted as overseer of the will of her son, George Fettiplace (q.v.) and as executor for her son Alexander Denton (q.v.). She mentioned "Ward the Mason" of Gawcott, Buckingham, in her will.²¹⁰

Moore, or More, Raphael (c.1530-c.1590)

Of Bourton, Buckingham, son of Thomas Moore.²¹¹ Tenant of Gabriel Fowler (q.v.) and Thomas Lovet (q.v.).

Newdigate, John (1490-1565)

Of Harefield, Middlesex, where he bought land from Robert Tyrwhitt (q.v.). M.P. for Middlesex 1553-4 and 1557-8. Married firstly Mary Cheney 1540, secondly Elizabeth Lovet (q.v.), widow of Anthony Cave (q.v.), after 1558. His son, John Newdigate (1541-1592) was at King's College Cambridge 1559-1562, and at Prague 1563-1565. The younger John married Martha Cave, daughter of Anthony Cave and was buried in St Mildred's, Poultry.²¹²

Nicolles, or Nicholls, Thomas (c.1520-1568)

Of Pytchley, Northamptonshire, serjeant at law. Executor for John first lord Mordaunt (q.v.) and involved in the estates of the Fitlewis family.²¹³ In 1563 he was party to an indenture including John second lord Mordaunt (q.v.) and his wife Joan Fermor (q.v.), and Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.).²¹⁴ Executor for Valentine Knightley in 1564.²¹⁵ In 1566 he was party to an indenture with Sir Robert Catlin and Sir John Spencer (q.v.).²¹⁶ In his will of 1568 he left two books to Edward Gryffyn (q.v.), forgave Lewis Mordaunt arrears of an annuity left him by the first lord Mordaunt, and mentioned Francis Saunders (q.v.) as a friend.²¹⁷ He was the father of Sir Augustine Nicholls (1559-1616), reader of the Middle Temple in 1602,²¹⁸ and "especial good friend" of Richard Shute, a surveyor at Burghley House.²¹⁹ See also the entry for Sir Eusebius Isham of Pytchley.

Norris, or Norres, John (c.1500-1564 or 1577)

Of the Berkshire family of Norres. He was a gentleman usher of the chamber, served under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, and married Elizabeth Bray, sister of Edmund Bray²²⁰ (cf. Edmund Harman, q.v.). He was granted the reversion of the comptrollership at Windsor in 1536, and was comptroller 1538-1577.²²¹ His date of death is given variously as 1564,²²² and 1577,²²³ so there may be some confusion as to his identity. A John Norres supervised the will of Thomas Ward of Windsor in 1538,²²⁴ and another John Norres is mentioned at Burghley in 1556 by Roger Ward, and in 1564 by Edmund Hall.²²⁵

Osborne, Peter (1521-1592)

Of Chicksands, Bedfordshire (cf. the Haynes Grange Room q.v.). Married Anne Blythe, daughter of John Blythe, the first regius professor of physic at Cambridge University and niece to Sir John Cheke. Like Dr John Caius (q.v.), Peter Osborne knew archbishop Parker.²²⁶ Peter Osborne received a letter from William Cecil (q.v.) in 1575 regarding a threat to a patent, involving Sir Christopher Hatton (q.v.).

Peckham, Sir Edmund (c.1495-1564)

Of Denham, Buckinghamshire. Justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire 1525. Master of the mint from 1546. Privy councillor and M.P. 1553-1554, and helped suppress Wyatt's rebellion. Married Anne Cheyne.²²⁷ Overseer of the will of Thomas Denton (q.v.) in 1557.²²⁸ Employed Dionise Ward glazier, at Biddlesden, Buckinghamshire.²²⁹ Father of Sir George Peckham (c.1530-1608), who had business dealings with Thomas Lovet (q.v.). When Sir George Peckham's estate was confiscated in 1585 it was conferred on William Bowyer.²³⁰

Plowden, Edmund (1518-1585)

Of Burghfield, Berkshire Entered Middle Temple 1538, but admitted to practice chirurgery and physic at Oxford 1552. M.P. for Wallingford 1553. Treasurer of the Middle Temple 1561, at the time the building of the new hall began. Had a reputation as a pro-Roman Catholic lawyer, and had several works published.²³¹ Executor for John second lord Mordaunt (q.v.),²³² and for Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.).²³³ Supervisor and witness for the will of Richard Ward of Hurst (q.v.).²³⁴

Poole, Edward (c.1520-1578)

Described in his will as of "Cisseter", Gloucestershire, and requested burial at Poole, Wiltshire. His son in law was Thomas Fettiplace, and his father in law Thomas Walton (bailiff to Edward Cowper, q.v., in 1596) was overseer of his will in 1578.²³⁵

Poulton, Ferdinando (1536-1618)

Of Desborough, Northamptonshire, and Bourton, near Buckingham. Graduated from Cambridge 1556, admitted to Lincoln's Inn, practised as a pro-Catholic lawyer, and two of his sons became Roman Catholic priests. He was the first private individual to edit the statutes, and his published compilations are numerous.²³⁶ He wrote and witnessed the will of Margaret Mordaunt (q.v.), who described him as a "loving" friend, she being godmother to one of his children.²³⁷ He was related to the Moore family of Bourton,²³⁸ and was

therefore related to Thomas Ward of Winkfield, Berkshire (q.v.).²³⁹ He was also related to Sir Eusebius Isham (q.v.), the builder of Pytchley Old Hall.

Rokeby, Ralph (c.1527-1596)

Of Lincoln's Inn. Chief justice of Connaught 1570, bencher of Lincoln's Inn 1572, and a master of requests 1576. Took part in several trials of Roman Catholics.²⁴⁰ He was a cousin and *de facto* executor of Ralph Scrope (q.v.), who mentioned him in his will.²⁴¹ He was also an executor for the will of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt (q.v.).²⁴²

Sackville, Thomas, first earl of Dorset and baron Buckhurst (1536-1608)

Lawyer, poet, writer, grand master of the freemasons 1561-1567, M.P. 1558 and 1563, undertook the grand tour 1563-1566, then travelled in France in 1568 and 1571, and in the Low Countries 1587 and 1589. Lord treasurer 1599. Privy councillor and commissioner at state trials.²⁴³ Overseer for the will of Ambrose Cave (q.v.) in 1568.²⁴⁴ Employed the mason William Flinte,²⁴⁵ and the surveyor John Trevor.²⁴⁶ He also knew Jerome Weston, or one of his family by the same name (q.v.).²⁴⁷

St John, Oliver

Of Bletsoe, Bedfordshire. He was party to an indenture dated 1568 involving Lewis Dyve (q.v.).²⁴⁸ Thomas Snagge (q.v.) described lord St John as a "dear friend" in his will dated 1591.²⁴⁹

Saunders, Sir Edward (c.1505-1576)

Of Weston-under-Wetherley, Warwickshire, descended on his mother's side from the Cave family. Educated at Cambridge University, member of Middle Temple, serjeant at law 1540, justice of the common pleas 1553, chief justice of the queen's bench under Mary 1555, but demoted to chief baron of the exchequer by Elizabeth in January 1559. Married secondly Agnes Hussey (q.v.).²⁵⁰ Was party to a deed dated 1553 with his brother-in-law Anthony Cave, and acted as his overseer.²⁵¹ Overseer for the will of Ambrose Cave,

1568.²⁵² In 1576 the executors of Sir Edward's own will included Sir Walter Mildmay (q.v.), Edmund Plowden (q.v.), and Lawrence Eyton. His overseer was Christopher Hatton.²⁵³ His son in law was Gabriel Fowler (q.v.).

Saunders, Francis (c.1530-c.1590)

Of Cold Ashby, Northamptonshire. Probably the son of Sir Edward Saunders (q.v.).²⁵⁴ Overseer for the will of his "cousin" Anthony Cave,²⁵⁵ executor for Valentine Knightley,²⁵⁶ and friend of Thomas Nicolles.²⁵⁷

Scrope, Ralph (c.1520-1572)

Of Hambleden, Buckinghamshire. Cousin to Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton, bencher of Lincoln's Inn, married Elizabeth Paulet, daughter of William Paulet (1488-1572) lord treasurer and marquis of Winchester.²⁵⁸ His cousin Ralph Rokeby (q.v.) acted as his executor with his brothers.²⁵⁹ His tomb at Hambleden is a classical aedicule (q.v.).

Smith, Sir Thomas (1513-1577)

Scholar and classicist. Visited Paris, Orleans and Padua c.1540. Regius professor of civil law at Cambridge, 1544. Ambassador to France 1562-1566. Builder of Hill Hall at Theydon Mount, Essex, and Ankerwick, Buckinghamshire. Married Elizabeth Carkyke in 1548 and Philippa Wilford in 1554 (she was the widow of Sir John Hampden who had died in 1553).²⁶⁰ Employed the carpenter Richard Kirby.²⁶¹

Snagge, Thomas (1536-1593)

Of Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire. At Gray's Inn from 1552, called to the bar 1554, M.P. for Bedford, attorney-general for Ireland 1577-1580, serjeant at law, speaker of the House of Commons 1588-1590. Queen's serjeant from 1590.²⁶² Married Elizabeth Dicons c.1560.²⁶³ He described lord St John (q.v.) and Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.) as a "dear friend" in his will dated 1591. His executors were his sons Robert Snagge (c.1560-1633) and Sir

Thomas Snagge (c.1560-1626).²⁶⁴ His alabaster tomb at Marston Moretaine is similar to those at Bromham and Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (q.v.). Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland 1565-78, wrote of him that

"I fynde him a Man well learned, sufficient, stoute, and well-spoken, an Instrument of good Service for her Majestie...So that by his presence I find my selfe well assisted and humblye thank y^r Lordships for the sending him to me, and more of his Sorte are needed."²⁶⁵

Spencer, Sir John (c.1520-c.1585)

Of Althorpe and Great Brington, Northamptonshire. Married secondly the only daughter of Sir Robert Catlin (q.v.), who outlived him.²⁶⁶ Supervisor for the will of Valentine Knightley.²⁶⁷ In 1566 he was party to an indenture with Sir Robert Catlin (q.v.) and Thomas Nicolles (q.v.), and shortly before 1586 he bought land at Muscott, Northamptonshire, from Lawrence Eyton (q.v.). He mentioned William Cecil (q.v.) and Sir Walter Mildmay (q.v.) as friends and associates, and his sons, Thomas Spencer, William Spencer, and Richard Spencer, were named as his executors.²⁶⁸ Thomas Spencer was also an executor for Valentine Knightley,²⁶⁹ and William Spencer was promised the next vacancy for one of the seven auditors of the exchequer in 1577, along with John Thomson (q.v.).²⁷⁰ The Spencer tombs at Brington (q.v.) are a major collection, partly by the sculptor Jasper Hollemans of Burton-upon-Trent.

Thomson, John (c.1531-1597)

Of Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire. High sheriff of Bedfordshire 1580. Married Dorothy Gilbert (q.v.).²⁷¹ One of the seven auditors of the exchequer by 1577,²⁷² a post which he shared with William Spencer, son of Sir John Spencer (q.v.). Owned a house adjoining Charterhouse churchyard in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate, London. His undated will does not mention executors, but his wife Dorothy Gilbert was sworn to this effect.²⁷³ His alabaster tomb at Husborne Crawley is similar to those at Bromham and Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire (q.v.).

Throckmorton family of Coughton, Warwickshire

The Throckmortons were a large and powerful family of Roman Catholic recusants. Sir Robert Throckmorton (c.1525-1586) married into the Berkeley and Hussey families (cf. Agnes Hussey, q.v.), and he had an interest in lands formerly owned by the Fitzlewis family (q.v.) through an agreement with the first lord Mordaunt in 1558.²⁷⁴ His daughter, Muriel, married Thomas Tresham (q.v.) c.1570. Robert was buried under an altar tomb at Coughton. His younger brother Sir John Throckmorton (c.1530-1580) was buried at Coughton under the large canopied tomb in the chancel. The Throckmortons were related by marriage to the Wilford family (q.v.), and to the Mordaunt and Conyers families (q.v.) through the Carew family of Beddington, Surrey.²⁷⁵

Tresham, Sir Thomas (c.1543-1605)

Of Rushton, Northamptonshire. Sheriff of Northamptonshire 1574, knighted 1577, but his public career ended when he was converted to Roman Catholicism by the jesuit Robert Parsons in 1580. Confined 1581-1588 for harbouring Edmund Campion, and again in 1597 and 1599. Married Muriel Throckmorton of Coughton, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton (q.v.), c.1570.²⁷⁶ Party to an indenture dated 1568 with Lewis Dyve.²⁷⁷ Corresponded with Lewis Mordaunt (q.v.) in an overtly Roman Catholic vein, with references to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.²⁷⁸ He was the builder of the Triangular Lodge at Rushton, the New Building at Lyveden, and Rushton Hall, employing a number of masons including Robert Stickells. He had more than twenty architectural books in his library.²⁷⁹

Tyrwhitt, Sir Robert (c.1500-1572)

Of Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire. He also occupied a house in St John's Lane, London near the parish of St Bartholomew the Great. Sir Walter Mildmay (q.v.) and Ralph Rokeby (q.v.) were his executors.²⁸⁰ He was an executor for his kinsman John first lord Mordaunt.²⁸¹ His tomb is at Leighton Bromswold.

Ward, Richard (c.1510-c.1578)

Of Hurst, Berkshire. Son of Thomas Ward (q.v.) of Windsor. Richard was cofferer to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. He married Columbara Flambert, by whom he had eight sons and nine daughters.²⁸² Edmund Plowden was overseer and witness of his will, in which he mentioned Gregory Lovell, a relation of Humphry Lovell, the queen's master mason.²⁸³

Ward, Thomas (c.1480-1538)

Of Windsor, Berkshire. His son was Richard Ward, of Hurst, Berkshire (q.v.). Thomas was comptroller of the king's works at Windsor 1528-1538. His will was supervised by John Norris esquire, the subsequent comptroller (q.v.). He married Maud More of Bourton, near Buckingham.

Weston, Sir Jerome (c.1550-1603)

Of Roxwell, Essex. Witness and executor for the will of his stepmother Elizabeth Lovet (q.v.),²⁸⁴ and executor for his father Richard Weston (q.v.).²⁸⁵ Witnessed the will of Joan Fermor (q.v.).²⁸⁶ Jerome, or another member of his family by the same name, was known to Sir Thomas Sackville (q.v.).²⁸⁷

Weston, Richard (c.1510-1572)

Of Writtle, Essex. Solicitor general, queen's serjeant 1559, justice of the common pleas from 1559 until his death. Married Wiburga Catesby of Seaton, Northamptonshire, and by her had a son Jerome.²⁸⁸ His third wife was Elizabeth Lovet, widow of Anthony Cave and John Newdigate (q.v.).

Wilford Family

Of London and Surrey, a numerous family of merchant tailors and cutlers, c.1520-c.1620. They were responsible for some significant connections, including Philippa Wilford who married Sir Thomas Smith (q.v.), Robert Wilford who married Joan Fermor (q.v.), and the notary John Wilford, who witnessed the will of Dr Thomas Linacre (q.v.) in 1524.²⁸⁹

Williams, Edward (c.1530-c.1594)

Of the Inner Temple, surveyor of the queen's stable.²⁹⁰ Servant and executor to Ambrose Cave (q.v.),²⁹¹ and a friend of Elizabeth Lovet (q.v.).²⁹²

Willison, Richard (c.1510-1575)

Of Sugwas, Herefordshire, the son of John Willison and Alice Skipp of Ledbury, Herefordshire. His uncle, Alice Skipp's brother, was master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, until 1552, and Richard Willison himself was a fellow of Gonville Hall until 1542.²⁹³ Buried at Madley, Herefordshire, with his wife, Anne Elton, their tomb made by the sculptor John Gildon of Hereford. Richard Willison was a close friend of Dr John Caius (q.v.), and founded two scholarships at what was by then Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, in 1575.²⁹⁴ Edward Cowper (q.v.) was named as his executor, and Alexander Denton (q.v.) his son-in-law was supervisor.²⁹⁵ Willison was related to Richard Seborne, an executor of the will of Richard Harford (q.v.) in 1575. Richard Willison's widow was a tenant of Richard Harford in 1575.²⁹⁶

Wylmer, Thomas (c.1520-1580)

Of Staverton, Northamptonshire. Married Elizabeth Crudge.²⁹⁷ His son, Thomas, was his executor,²⁹⁸ and appears to have been related by marriage to the Throckmorton family (q.v.).²⁹⁹ Thomas Wylmer's tomb at Staverton is based on the Knightley tomb at Fawsley, Northamptonshire.

References in the Biographical Notes

- ¹ Will of Joan Mordaunt (formerly Joan Fermor), PROB 11/79/186v-187r, 1592.
- ² Rylands, W.H., (ed.) *The Visitation of the County of Buckingham made in 1634* (London: Harleian Society) 1909, p.143.
- ³ Will of Elizabeth Weston (formerly Elizabeth Lovet), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
- ⁴ Will of Sir Edmund Ashfield, PROB 11/60/46r-47r, 1577.
- ⁵ Mentioned in the inscription on Sir Edmund Ashfield's tomb at Shenley, Buckinghamshire.
- ⁶ Will of Sir Edmund Ashfield, PROB 11/60/46r-47r, 1577.
- ⁷ Todd, H.J., *The History of the Bonhommes of Ashridge* (London) 1823, pp.61-2. The translation is: "The Counties of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. A commission of inquiry held at Ashridge, in the aforesaid county, on the twentieth day of October in the sixteenth year of the reign of our most serene sovereign Elizabeth, before Sir Edmund Ashfield, overseer of all the queen's lands and possessions in her county of Buckinghamshire, and Richard Young, overseer [for Hertfordshire]. By virtue of of a commission given by the said queen's majesty from the exchequer dated the last day of the sixteenth year of her reign on the oath of [names given] namely...They present further that there is a certain stone quarry at Totternhoe in the county of Bedfordshire, part of the aforesaid lordship of Ashridge, which has never been arrented, and to that extent it is assumed to be of little or no value."
- ⁸ Will of Thomas Barham, PROB 11/129/224r-224v, 1616.
- ⁹ Will of Richard Covert, PROB 11/62/117r-118r, 1580.
- ¹⁰ Sir Oliver Boteler described himself as of Teston, Kent, in his will, PROB 11/162/335r, 1632.
- ¹¹ Wills of Sir Oliver Boteler, PROB 11/162/335r, 1632, and Thomas Barham, PROB 11/129/224r-224v, 1617.
- ¹² Will of Thomas Barham, PROB 11/129/224r-224v, 1617. The will is undated.
- ¹³ Will of Henry Bowyer, PROB 11/74/185r-187r, 1589.
- ¹⁴ Joan Fermor's brother, Sir John Fermor, married Maud Vaux, daughter of Sir Nicholas Vaux. See Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *The Visitations of Northamptonshire made in 1564 and 1618-19* (London: Harleian Society) 1887, p.19.
- ¹⁵ D.N.B., Vol. 6, p.402.
- ¹⁶ Will of John, second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- ¹⁷ Will of Sir Edmund Ashfield, PROB 11/60/46r-47r, 1577.
- ¹⁸ Henry Fortescue "deceased" and his wife Dame Mary were mentioned in the will of George Fettiplace, PROB 11/59/309r-310r, 1577.
- ¹⁹ Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1887, p.170.
- ²⁰ Guildhall M.S. 1854.
- ²¹ cf. the Conyers family of Hornby Castle (q.v.) and elsewhere in Yorkshire, notably Christopher Conyers, seventh son of Sir George Conyers, see Norcliffe, C.B., (ed.) *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the Years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower Esquire, Norroy King of Arms* (London: Harleian Society) 1881, pp.72-3, and "Mr Conyers" mentioned in the will of George Fettiplace, PROB 11/59/309r-310r, 1577.
- ²² D.N.B., Vol. 8, pp.221-5, and Cooper, C.H., and Cooper, T., (eds.) *Athenae Cantabrigiensis* (C.U.P.) Vol. 1, 1858, pp.312-318.
- ²³ R.C.H.M.E., City of Cambridge (London: H.M.S.O.) Part 1, 1959, p.73.
- ²⁴ Will of John Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571, and will of John Caius, PROB 11/55/292r-293v, 1573.
- ²⁵ Will of John Caius, PROB 11/55/292r-293v, 1573.
- ²⁶ D.N.B., Vol. 9, p.321.

- 27 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 28 Halstead, R., *Succinct Genealogies of the Noble and Ancient Houses of...Mordaunt & Turvey* (London) 1685, pp.581 and 586.
- 29 Will of John Caius, PROB 11/55/292r-293v, 1573.
- 30 Will of John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.
- 31 Emmison, F.G., *et al.*, (eds.) *Transcripts of Bedfordshire Parish Registers* (Bedfordshire County Record Office) Vol. 2, 1931, p.A46.
- 32 Lack, W., *et al.*, *The Monumental Brasses of Bedfordshire* (London: Monumental Brass Society) 1992, p.91.
- 33 Will of Thomas Cave, PROB 11/89/69r-69v, 1597.
- 34 D.N.B., Vol. 9, p.338.
- 35 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 36 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 37 D.N.B., Vol. 9, pp.406-413.
- 38 Will of Ambrose Cave, PROB 11/54/66r-67r, 1572.
- 39 Guildhall M.S. 21,607.
- 40 Will of Sir Anthony Cooke, PROB 11/59/72r-72v, 1576.
- 41 Will of Sir John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.
- 42 The genealogical information and the date of the monument are contained in the inscription on Elizabeth Conyers' tomb at Homby, Yorkshire.
- 43 Will of Sir Anthony Cooke, PROB 11/59/72r-72v, 1576.
- 44 D.N.B., Vol. 12, p.189.
- 45 Will of Thomas Copley, PROB 11/68/104r-106v, 1584.
- 46 Will of William Flint, PROB 11/63/235r-235v, 1581.
- 47 D.N.B., Vol. 12, pp.213-4.
- 48 Will of Edward Gryffyn, PROB 11/53/243v-244v, 1571.
- 49 Will of Alexander Denton, PROB 11/60/227r-228v, 1578.
- 50 Will of Sir Robert Catlin, PROB 11/57/35r-37r, 1574.
- 51 These details are stated on the inscription fixed to the tomb of Jane Covert at Slaugham, Sussex.
- 52 V.C.H., *Sussex*, Vol.7, 1940, p.186.
- 53 Will of William Flint (Flynte), PROB 11/63/235r-235v, 1581.
- 54 Will of Richard Covert, PROB 11/62/117r-118r, 1580.
- 55 Will of Edward Cowper, PROB 11/88/155r-156v, 1596.
- 56 Will of Richard Willison, PROB 11/57/152v-153r, 1575.
- 57 Will of Richard Harford, PROB 11/58/68r-70v, 1576.
- 58 The inscription says 1551, but the D.N.B. says 1557: D.N.B., Vol. 13, p.202.
- 59 D.N.B., Vol. 13, pp.201-2. However, Elizabeth had children from a previous marriage, so the belief that her maiden name was Seymour, as opposed to a previous marriage with a man called Seymour, should be treated with caution. See Lemon, R., (ed.) *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic: Elizabeth I, 1547-1580* (London: H.M.S.O.) 1856, p.46, and revised edition by C.S. Knighton (London: H.M.S.O.) SP/10/15/31, p.269.
- 60 Norcliffe, C.B., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1881, pp.92-3.
- 61 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 62 D.N.B., Vol. 14, pp.373-4.
- 63 Colvin, H.M., (ed.) *The History of the King's Works 1485-1660* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 4, Part 2, 1982, pp.64 and 149.
- 64 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.

- 65 Blaydes, F.A., (ed.) *The Visitation of Bedfordshire, Annis 1566, 1582, and 1634, made by William Harvey Esq, Clarencieux King of Arms...* (London: Harleian Society) Vol. 19, 1884, pp.21-3.
- 66 Anne Willison was buried in Hereford Cathedral, and died on 25 October 1566 aged eighteen, see Llewellyn, N., *John Weever and English Funeral Monuments of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (University of London, Ph.D. Thesis) 1983, p.496. Mary Martin is referred to in the inscription on Alexander Denton's tomb at Hillesden, Buckinghamshire.
- 67 Will of Richard Willison, PROB 11/57/152v-153r, 1575.
- 68 Will of Alexander Denton, PROB 11/60/227r-228v, 1578.
- 69 Will of Richard Harford, PROB 11/58/68r-70v, 1576.
- 70 Wills of Alexander Denton, PROB 11/60/227r-228v, 1578, and Gabriel Fowler, PROB 11/65/61v-62r, 1582.
- 71 Will of Thomas Denton, PROB 11/40/294v-297r, 1558.
- 72 Will of Thomas Denton, PROB 11/40/294v-297r, 1558.
- 73 Rylands, W.H., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1909, pp.40-1.
- 74 Will of Sir Robert Dormer, PROB 11/35/197v-198r, 1552. His wife was named as executrix.
- 75 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 76 Information taken from the brass inscription on the Dormer tomb at Wing, Buckinghamshire.
- 77 John Thomson's great-grandmother was Agnes Gedney. See Blaydes, F.A., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1884, p.146.
- 78 D.N.B., Vol. 28, p.260 and pp.253-61, *passim*.
- 79 Maclean, J., and Heane, W.C., (eds.) *The Visitation of the County of Gloucester... 1623* (London: Harleian Society) 1885, pp.87-90.
- 80 Maclean, J., and Heane, W.C., (eds.) *loc. cit.*
- 81 Lewis Dyve's exact date of death is uncertain. His will was written in March 1587 and proved in August 1592, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 82 Will of Robert Brodridge, PROB 11/101/35r-36v, 1603.
- 83 Blaydes, F.A., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1884, p.23.
- 84 William Dix, who occupied the Grange at Bromham, Bedfordshire (will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592) was the executor of William Goodfellow of Pavenham, Bedfordshire, and this William Goodfellow was the father of Lewis Goodfellow, PROB 11/61/196v-198v, 1579. William was one of the executors of the will of John, second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 85 Will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576.
- 86 Will of Sir John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.
- 87 Joan Mordaunt's will was written 6 October 1591, PROB 11/79/186v-187r, but she appears to have died in April 1592, when probate was granted. William Burghley insisted that her executor bury according to her rank as baroness, but this does not seem to have happened. See Harvey, W.M., *The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Willey in the County of Bedford* (London) 1878, unnumbered notes relating to the "Pedigree of Mordaunt" between pp.186 and 187, referring to "MS. Ashm. 857, fo.422."
- 88 Harvey, W.M., *loc. cit.* See also the wills of Robert Wilford, PROB 11/30/301r-302r, 1545, and John, second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 89 Wills of John, second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571, and John Caius, PROB 11/55/292r-293v, 1573.
- 90 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.

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- 91 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
 - 92 Will of John, second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
 - 93 Wills of Margaret Denton (formerly Margaret Mordaunt), PROB 11/87/267r-270r, 1596, George Fettiplace, PROB 11/59/309r-310r, 1577, and Alexander Denton, PROB 11/60/227r-228v, 1578.
 - 94 Will of George Fettiplace, PROB 11/59/309r-310r, 1577.
 - 95 Guildhall M.S., 13,248.
 - 96 This information is contained in the inscription on Sir John Fettiplace's monument at Appleton, Berkshire.
 - 97 Will of Thomas Denton, PROB 11/40/294v-297r, 1558.
 - 98 Blaydes, F.A., *op.cit.*, 1884, p.42.
 - 99 Blaydes, F.A., *op.cit.*, 1884, p.30.
 - 100 Will of Agnes Saunders, PROB 11/73/89r-91v, 1588.
 - 101 Wills of Gabriel Fowler, PROB 11/65/61v-62r, 1582, and Thomas Lovet, PROB 11/69/380v-381v, 1586.
 - 102 Wills of Gabriel Fowler, PROB 11/65/61v-62r, 1582, and Alexander Denton, PROB 11/60/227r-228v, 1578.
 - 103 Will of George Fettiplace, PROB 11/59/309r-310r, 1577.
 - 104 Blaydes, F.A., *op.cit.*, 1884, p.146.
 - 105 Kennett, D.H., "Sixteenth-Century County Families - V: The Thompsons of Husborne Crawley" *Bedfordshire Magazine*, pp.73-76. Kennett says that Dorothy Gilbert's father was of Hopton, Suffolk, that the marriage took place in the 1550s, which seems rather early, and that there were three children. Two kneeling sons and a daughter are shown on the back panel of the tomb at Husborne Crawley, and the Visitation of Bedfordshire in 1634 mentions four sons and one daughter, see Blaydes, F.A., *op.cit.*, 1884, pp.146-7. In their wills, John Thomson (PROB 11/89/187r-187v, 1597) and Dorothy Thomson (PROB 11/135/424v-425v, 1620) both describe only two children, namely Robert, and an unnamed daughter, wife of Thomas Kemp. Kemp does not appear in the 1634 visitation. Robert Thomson died in 1633, according to V.C.H., *Bedfordshire*, Vol. 3, 1912, 394-9. However, John Thomson referred to his wife Dorothy as being the grandmother of the wife of Richard Sutton, thereby suggesting that she had children by a previous marriage. She mentioned numerous grandchildren with various surnames, whereas he concentrated on the three sons of his son Robert. N.B. an entry in the Husborne Crawley parish register for 1569, stating that John Thompson married Alice Fowler, may refer to another family. This is because Robert Thomson, son of John and Dorothy, must have been born before c.1570 in order to have had three children of his own by 1597. There were at least eight children named Thomson baptised in the parish between 1570 and 1595, including Thomas son of John Thomson (1570), Dorothy daughter of John Thomson (1573), Grace daughter of John Thomson (1586), John son of William Thomson, cooper (1588), John son of Robert Thomson esquire (1588), and Joan daughter of John Thomson, brewer (1589). See Emmison, F.G., *et al.*, (eds.) *Transcripts of Bedfordshire Parish Registers* (Bedfordshire County Record Office) 80 Vols., 1931-88.
 - 106 Wills of William Goodfellow, PROB 11/61/196v-198v, 1579, and Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
 - 107 Stagsden and Bromham parish registers, See Emmison, F.G., *et al.*, (eds.) *Transcripts of Bedfordshire Parish Registers* (Bedfordshire County Record Office) 80 Vols., 1931-88, and Blaydes, F.A., *op. cit.*, p.23., where there is mention of George Downes of Bromham, brother-in-law of Lewis Dyve.

- 108 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 109 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 110 Will of Thomas Nicolles, PROB 11/50/143r-144v, 1568.
- 111 Guildhall M.S., 1854.
- 112 Will of Edward Gryffyn, PROB 11/53/243v-244v, 1571.
- 113 Summerson, J., *The Unromantic Castle* (London: Thames & Hudson) 1990, Chapter on "John Thorpe and the Thorpes of Kingscliffe", pp.19-40.
- 114 Gotch, J.A., "The Renaissance in Northamptonshire" *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, New Series, Vol. 6, 1890, Appendix entitled "The Building of Burghley House", pp.103-9. See, in particular, the letters from Roger Ward to Sir William Cecil dated June 1556 (State Papers Domestic, Mary, Vol. ix, No.4) and from Peter Kemp to Sir William Cecil dated October 1561 (State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 20, No. 8).
- 115 Wills of Edmund Hall, PROB 11/82/337r-338v, 1593, and Thomas Hatcher, PROB 11/66/218v-219r, 1583.
- 116 There may have been two or more Richard Harfords, and their details may have become confused. See Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, p.337.
- 117 Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, pp.329-30, 333.
- 118 Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1887, p.31.
- 119 Wills of Richard Harford, PROB 11/58/68r-70v, 1576, and Richard Willison, PROB 11/57/152v-153r, 1575.
- 120 Will of Richard Harford, PROB 11/58/68r-70v, 1576.
- 121 Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, pp.318-20.
- 122 Balfour, M., *Edmund Harman, Barber and Gentleman* (Burford) Tolsey Museum Paper No. 6, 1988, p.1.
- 123 Balfour, M., *op. cit.*, 1988, p.9.
- 124 Lemon, R., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1856, p.636.
- 125 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 126 Will of John Hatcher, PROB 11/70/212v-215v, 1587.
- 127 D.N.B., Vol. 25, pp.151-2.
- 128 D.N.B., Vol. 25, p.159-62.
- 129 Letter from Christopher Hatton to Lewis Mordaunt dated 15 February 1574, N.R.O., SS 232, and undated letter from Hatton to Mordaunt, N.R.O., SS 237.
- 130 Will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576.
- 131 Gotch, J.A., *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire* (London: Batsford) 1936, p.16.
- 132 Friedman, A.T., "Patronage and the Production of Tombs in London and the Provinces: the Willoughby Monument of 1591" *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 65, Part 2, 1985, pp.390-401.
- 133 D.N.B., Vol. 50, p.323.
- 134 The D.N.B. implies that there were no children from the marriage, but Agnes Saunders' will, PROB 11/73/89r-91v, 1588, made it quite clear that she had children of her own. She mentioned a previous husband named Michael Wentworth, and she requested burial in Stepney church by her "brother" John Maynard.
- 135 Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1887, pp.181-2.
- 136 Gotch, J.A., *op. cit.*, 1890, Appendix entitled "The Building of Burghley House", pp.103-9. See, in particular, the letter from Peter Kemp to Sir William Cecil dated October 1561 (State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 20, No. 8).
- 137 Will of Peter Kemp, PROB 11/59/2v, 1576.
- 138 D.N.B., Vol. 31, pp.268-9.

- 139 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 140 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 141 D.N.B., Vol. 31, pp.275-9.
- 142 Will of Ambrose Cave, PROB 11/54/66r-67r, 1572.
- 143 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 144 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 145 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 146 Will of John Hatcher, PROB 11/70/212v-215v, 1587.
- 147 Will of Thomas Linacre, PROB 11/21/280r, 1525.
- 148 Cooper, C.H., and Cooper, T., (eds.) *op. cit.*, 1859, pp.30-1, and D.N.B., Vol. 33, pp.266-71.
- 149 Will of Richard Weston, PROB 11/54/190v-191v, 1572.
- 150 Will of Elizabeth Weston (formerly Elizabeth Lovet), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
- 151 Will of Jerome Weston, PROB 11/104/281r-281v, 1604.
- 152 Will of Elizabeth Weston (formerly Elizabeth Lovet), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
- 153 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 154 Will of Thomas Lovet, PROB 11/69/380v-381v, 1586.
- 155 Colvin, H.M., (ed.) *The History of the King's Works 1485-1660* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 4, Part 2, 1982, p.251.
- 156 Will of Edward Gryffyn, PROB 11/53/243v-244v, 1571.
- 157 Will of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, PROB 11/54/161v-162v, 1572.
- 158 Will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576.
- 159 Guildhall M.S., 13,479A.
- 160 Will of Sir John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.
- 161 D.N.B., Vol. 37, p.375.
- 162 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 163 D.N.B., Vol. 38, pp.403-5.
- 164 Mackie, J.D., *The Earlier Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) The Oxford History of England Series, 1952, reprinted with corrections 1978, p.652.
- 165 The commonly accepted date is 18 August 1562. See Harvey, W.M., *The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Willey in the County of Bedford* (London) unnumbered volume, 1878, p.234.
- 166 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.399.
- 167 D.N.B., Vol. 38, p.406.
- 168 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.400.
- 169 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.527.
- 170 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.532-533.
- 171 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.533.
- 172 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.536.
- 173 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 174 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 175 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 176 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 177 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.553.
- 178 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 179 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.559.
- 180 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 181 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 182 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 183 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.568.

- 184 Letter from Margaret Fettiplace (i.e. Margaret Mordaunt) to her father John Mordaunt, probably about 1540, in which she says "Very glad to hear of your good Amendment and Welfare, which I pray God daily increase." Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.567.
- 185 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 186 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.550. The summons mentions Tuesday 7 July, which dates it to one of the following years: 1523, 1528, 1534 or 1545. Halstead places it about 1534, chronologically speaking, which fits with the date of the Harrold fiasco, a subject which he does not otherwise refer to. In 1534 the chancellor was Sir Thomas Audley.
- 187 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.565-6.
- 188 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 189 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.589-90.
- 190 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.590.
- 191 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.592.
- 192 Will of John, first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 193 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 194 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, p.526.
- 195 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 196 D.N.B., *loc. cit.*
- 197 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.525-596, and *passim*.
- 198 For a general account of the second lord Mordaunt's life see Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.401-2.
- 199 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 200 White, A., *Church Monuments in Britain, c.1560-c.1660* (University of London: Ph.D. Thesis) 1991, p.203.
- 201 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 202 Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, pp.402-3.
- 203 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 204 See Lewis Mordaunt's correspondence in N.R.O., SS 239 (Radcliffe, 1587), SS 234 (Tresham, 1590), SS 236 (Devereux, 1595), SS 232 (Hatton, 1574), SS 230 (William Cecil, 1588), NPL 1099 (Thomas Cecil, c.1590).
- 205 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 206 The indenture is referred to in the will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 207 Will of Thomas Snagge, reproduced in Blaydes, F.A., "Snagge Family", *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, (Bedford) Vol. 2, 1889, p.8.
- 208 Margaret Mordaunt's will, was dated February 1588 (i.e. 1589), when she described herself as "well in Bodye", but was not proved until May 1596, suggesting that she died nearer 1596 than 1589. Will of Margaret Denton (formerly Margaret Mordaunt), PROB 11/87/267r-270r, 1596.
- 209 See Halstead, R., *op. cit.*, 1685, unnumbered family tree. Like several later authorities, he mistakenly says John Denton rather than Thomas Denton.
- 210 Will of Margaret Denton (formerly Margaret Mordaunt), PROB 11/87/267r-270r, 1596.
- 211 Rylands, W.H., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1909, p.92.
- 212 D.N.B. Vol. 40, p.330-1.
- 213 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 214 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 215 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 216 Will of Sir John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.

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- 217 Will of Thomas Nicolles, PROB 11/50/143r-144v, 1568.
- 218 D.N.B., Vol. 40, pp.48-9.
- 219 Will of Richard Shute, PROB 11/118/361v-362r, 1611. See also letters from Richard Shute to William Cecil, Gotch 1906
- 220 D.N.B., Vol. 41, p.121.
- 221 Colvin, H.M., (ed.) *The History of the King's Works 1485-1660* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 3, Part 1, 1975, pp.303 and 415. Colvin also notes (*loc. cit.*) that the comptrollers were William Norres 1577-91, and Sir John Norris 1591-1612.
- 222 D.N.B. *loc. cit.*, quoting Dugdale's *Baronage*.
- 223 Colvin, H.M., (ed.) *The History of the King's Works 1485-1660* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 3, Part 1, 1975, p.415, n.7, referring to Norris' *inquisition post mortem* in P.R.O., C142/176/2).
- 224 Will of Thomas Ward, PROB 11/27/169r-169v, 1538.
- 225 Gotch, J.A., *op. cit.*, 1890, Appendix entitled "The Building of Burghley House", pp.103-9. See, in particular, the letters from Roger Ward to Sir William Cecil dated June 1556 (State Papers Domestic, Mary, Vol. ix, No. 4) and from Edmund Hall to Sir William Cecil dated 30 August 1564 (State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. xxxiv, No. 51).
- 226 The circle of Peter Osborne is further discussed in the chapter on the "Haynes Grange Room" in Girouard, M., *Town and Country* (London: Yale University Press) 1992.
- 227 D.N.B., Vol. 44, p.189.
- 228 Will of Thomas Denton, PROB 11/40/294v-297r, 1558.
- 229 Will of Dionise Ward, B.R.O., DA/Wf/4/372
- 230 D.N.B., Vol. 44, pp.189-90.
- 231 D.N.B., Vol. 45, pp.428-9.
- 232 Will of John second lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/53/286r-287r, 1571.
- 233 Will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576.
- 234 Will of Richard Ward, PROB 11/60/145r-145v, 1578.
- 235 Will of Edward Poole, PROB 11/60/265r-265v, 1578.
- 236 D.N.B., Vol.46, pp.36-7.
- 237 Will of Margaret Denton (formerly Margaret Mordaunt), PROB 11/87/267r-270r, 1596.
- 238 Rylands, W.H., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1909, p.92.
- 239 Rylands, W.H., *The Four Visitations of Berkshire 1532, 1566, 1623, 1655-6* (London: Harleian Society) Vol. 1, 1907, p.57.
- 240 D.N.B., Vol. 49, p.152.
- 241 Will of Ralph Scrope, PROB 11/54/294v-296r, 1572.
- 242 Will of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, PROB 11/54/161v-162v, 1572.
- 243 D.N.B., Vol. 50, pp.96-100.
- 244 Will of Ambrose Cave, PROB 11/54/66r-67r, 1572.
- 245 Will of William Flint, PROB 11/63/235r-235v, 1581.
- 246 Airs, M., *The Tudor & Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud: Alan Sutton) 1995, p.36.
- 247 Will of Sir Thomas Sackville, PROB 11/2r-26v, 1609.
- 248 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 249 Will of Thomas Snagge, reproduced in Blaydes, F.A., *op. cit.*, 1889, p.8.
- 250 D.N.B., Vol. 50, pp.322-3.
- 251 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 252 Will of Ambrose Cave, PROB 11/54/66r-67r, 1572.
- 253 Will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576.

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- 254 Francis Saunders is mentioned in the will of Sir Edward Saunders, PROB 11/58/298v-300r, 1576, but the D.N.B. mentions only one daughter: D.N.B., Vol. 50, p323.
- 255 Will of Anthony Cave, PROB 11/42A/55v-63v, 1558.
- 256 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 257 Will of Thomas Nicolles, PROB 11/50/143r-144v, 1568.
- 258 Information taken from the inscription on Ralph Scrope's tomb at Hambleden, Buckinghamshire.
- 259 Will of Ralph Scrope, PROB 11/54/294v-296r, 1572.
- 260 D.N.B., Vol. 53, pp.124-7, and Cooper, C.H., and Cooper, T., (eds.) *op. cit.*, 1859, pp.368-374.
- 261 Will of Sir Thomas Smith, PROB 11/59/237v-238v, 1577.
- 262 D.N.B., Vol. 53, pp.202-3.
- 263 From the inscription on Thomas Snagge's tomb at Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire.
- 264 Will of Thomas Snagge, reproduced in Blaydes, F.A., "Snagge Family", *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries* (Bedford) Vol. 2, 1889, p.8.
- 265 D.N.B., Vol. 53, p.202, quoting Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, Vol. 1, p.228.
- 266 D.N.B., Vol. 9, p.321.
- 267 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 268 Will of Sir John Spencer, PROB 11/70/1r-3r, 1586.
- 269 Will of Valentine Knightley, PROB 11/48/444v-446v, 1566.
- 270 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, 1575-1578* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 7, 1982, p.229. On the 18 Sept 1577 at Gorhambury, Hertfordshire, Elizabeth made a "Grant to life to William Spencer, third son of John Spencer of Althropp [Althorpe, in Brington parish], Co. Northampton, knight, of the office of one of the seven auditors of the Exchequer which shall next be void; with a yearly fee of £20 payable at the Exchequer. Francis Southwell, John Thompson, Thomas Neale, William Fuller, William Neale, Robert Multon, Henry Dynne the present auditors hold their offices for life by patents severally made to them thereof, and Anthony Roue was granted the reversion of Southwell's office by patent 5 November 5 & 6 Ph. & M. for life."
- 271 Kennett, D.H., "Sixteenth-Century County Families - V: The Thompsons of Husborne Crawley" *Bedfordshire Magazine*, pp.73-76.
- 272 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, 1575-1578* (London: H.M.S.O.) Vol. 7, 1982, p.229.
- 273 Will of John Thomson, PROB 11/89/187r-187v, 1597.
- 274 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 275 Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1887, p.200, and Hemingway, V., *Coughton Court* (Norwich: Jarrold) 2nd edition 1997, pp.36-7.
- 276 D.N.B., Vol. 57, pp.204-5.
- 277 Will of Lewis Dyve, PROB 11/80/143v-146r, 1592.
- 278 Letter from Thomas Tresham to Lewis Mordaunt, 19 March 1590, N.R.O., SS 234.
- 279 Airs, M., *op. cit.*, 1995.
- 280 Will of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, PROB 11/54/161v-162v, 1572.
- 281 Will of John first lord Mordaunt, PROB 11/45/151r-153r, 1562.
- 282 Information from the inscription on the tomb of Richard Ward at Hurst, Berkshire.
- 283 Will of Richard Ward, PROB 11/60/145r-145v, 1578.
- 284 Will of Elizabeth Weston (formerly Elizabeth Lovet), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
- 285 Will of Richard Weston, PROB 11/54/190v-191v, 1572.
- 286 Will of Joan Mordaunt (Fermor), PROB 11/79/186v-187r, 1592.
- 287 Will of Sir Thomas Sackville, PROB 11/2r-26v, 1609.
- 288 D.N.B., Vol. 60, p.364.

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- 289 Will of Thomas Linacre, PROB 11/21/280r, 1525.
290 Will of Edward Williams, PROB 11/84/127r-128r, 1594.
291 Will of Ambrose Cave, PROB 11/54/66r-67r, 1572.
292 Will of Elizabeth Weston (Lovel), PROB 11/59/327r-328v, 1577.
293 Llewellyn, N., *op. cit.*, 1983, p.496-8.
294 Venn, J., (ed.) *Biographical History of Gonville & Caius College 1349-1897*
(Cambridge University Press) Vol. 1, 1897, pp.29-30.
295 Will of Richard Willison, PROB 11/57/152v-153r, 1575.
296 Will of Richard Harford, PROB 11/58/68r-70v, 1576.
297 Mentioned in the inscription on the Wylmer tomb at Staverton, Northamptonshire, and
confirmed in Metcalfe, W.C., (ed.) *op. cit.*, 1887, p.158.
298 Will of Thomas Wylmer, PROB 11/63/88v-89r, 1581.
299 Thomas Wylmer was married to Anne Dudley, widow of Sir Francis Throckmorton of
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Plate 1. Entrance to adit, Totternhoe stone quarries, Bedfordshire

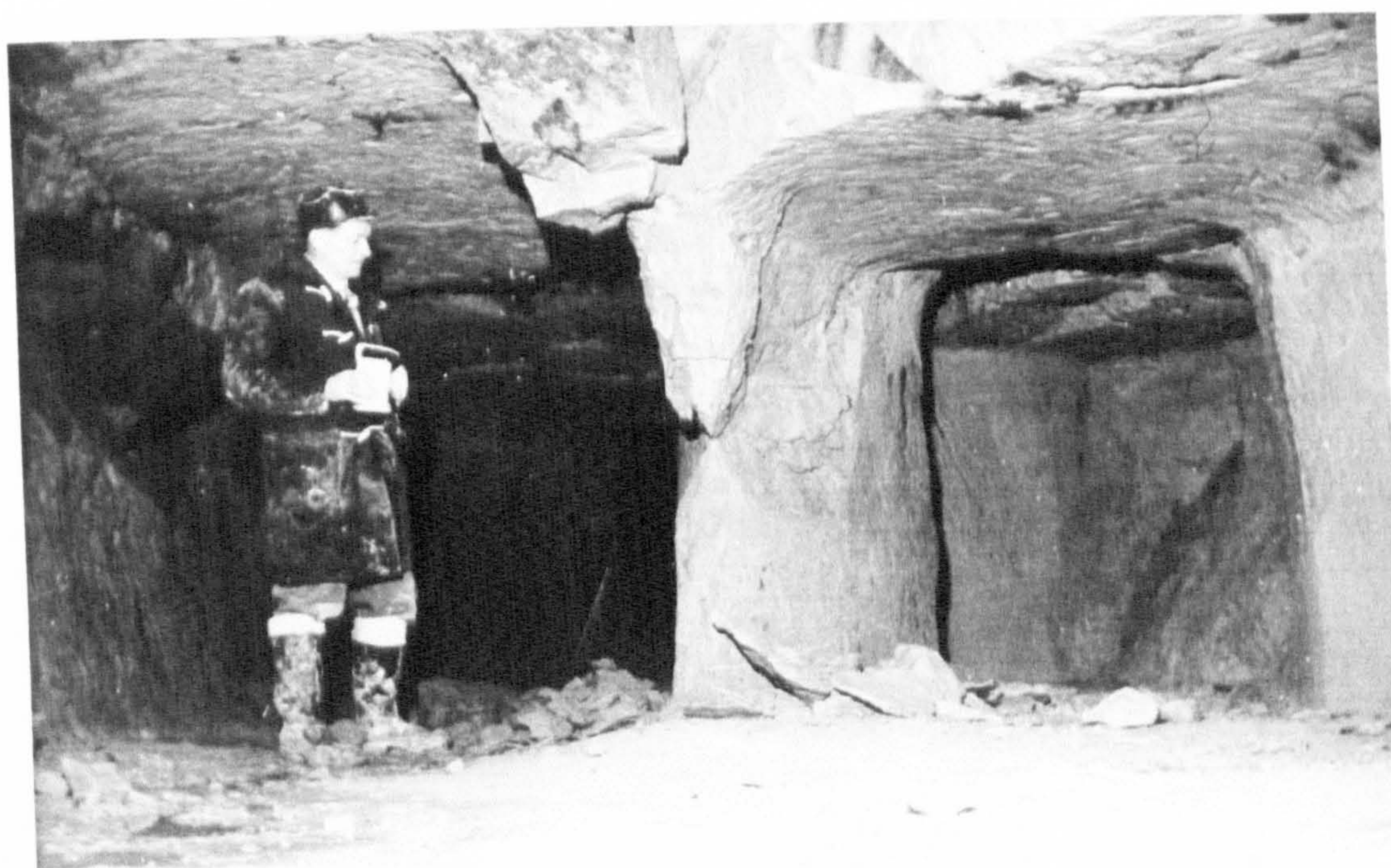


Plate 2. Old adits in the Totternhoe stone quarries, Bedfordshire

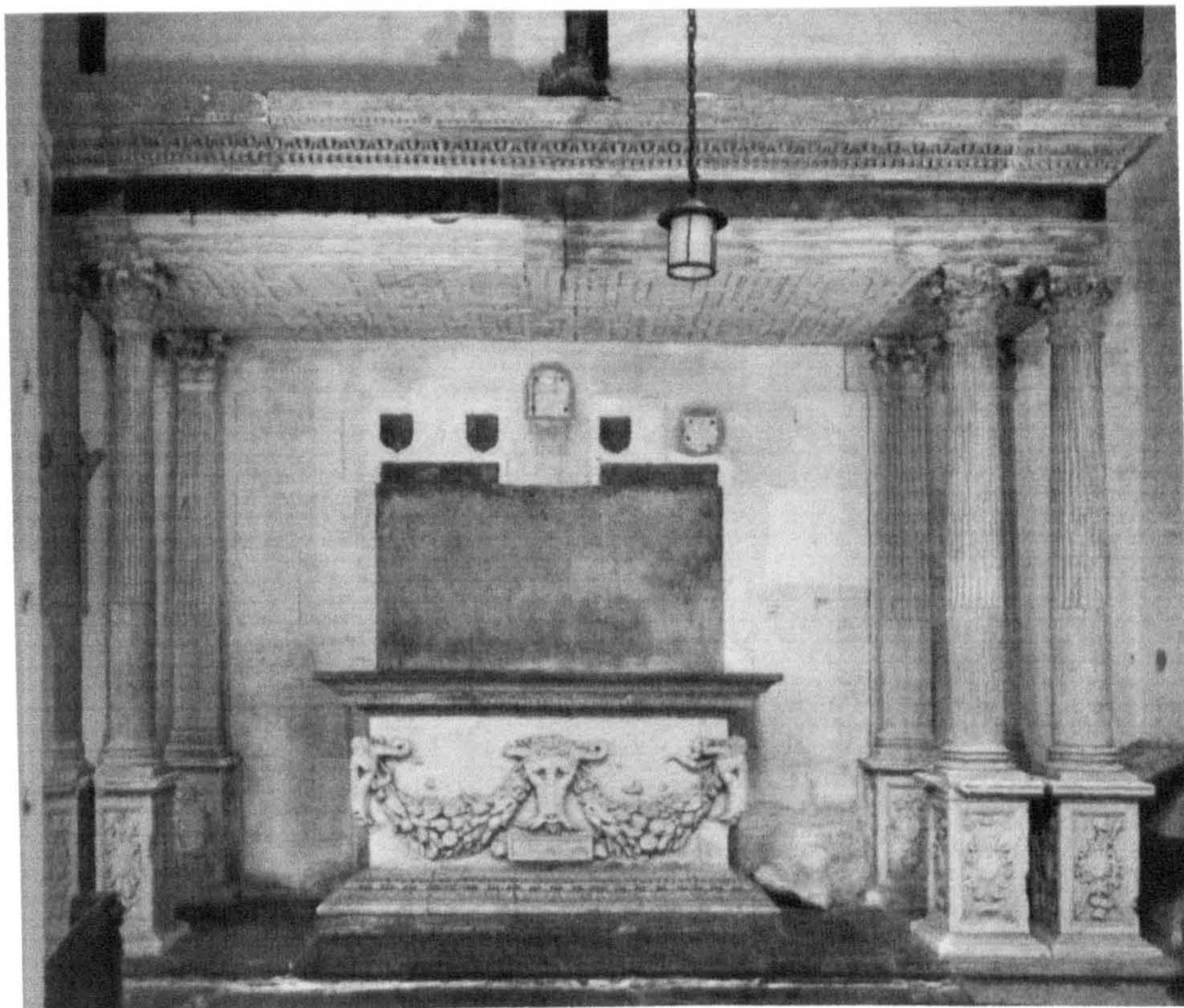


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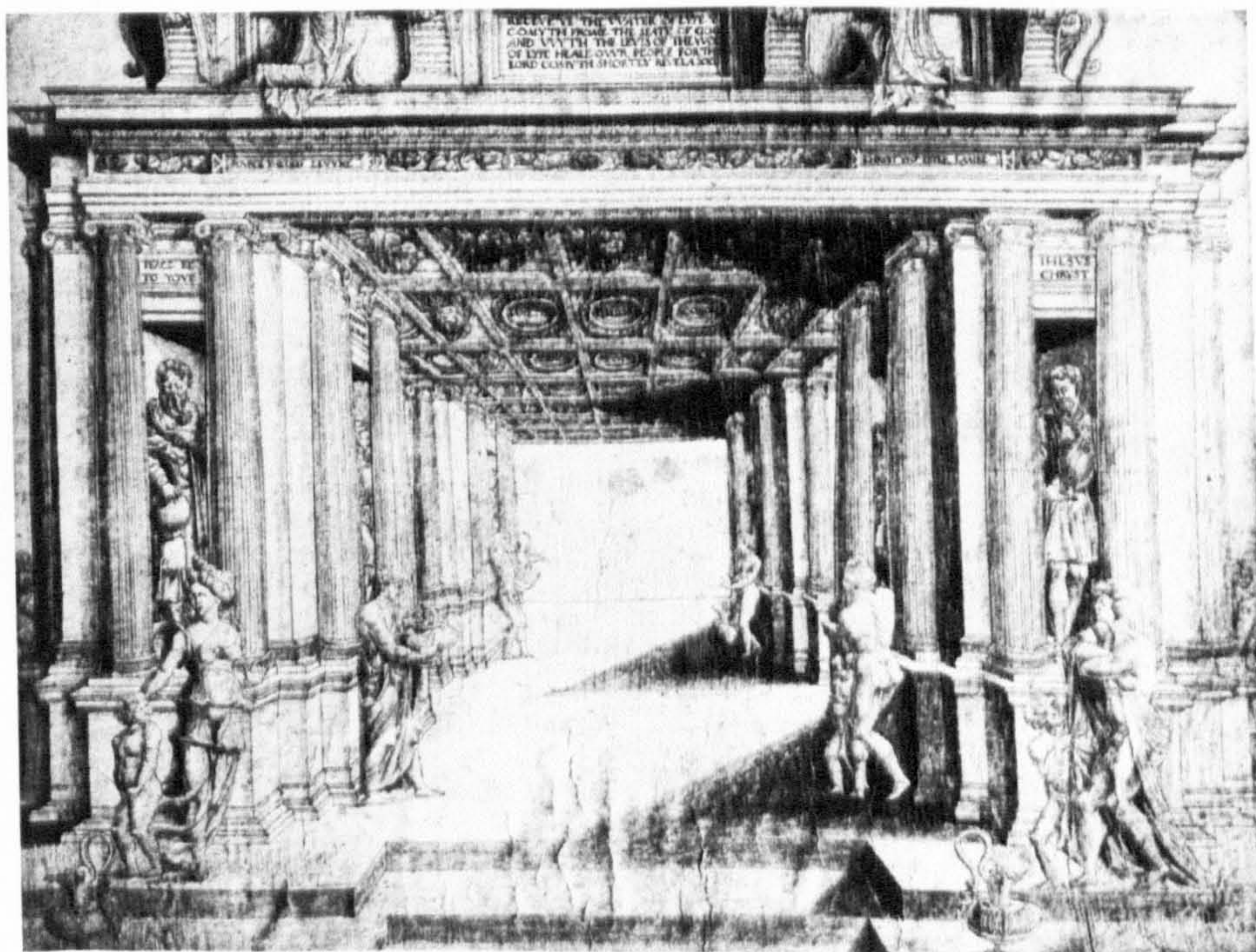


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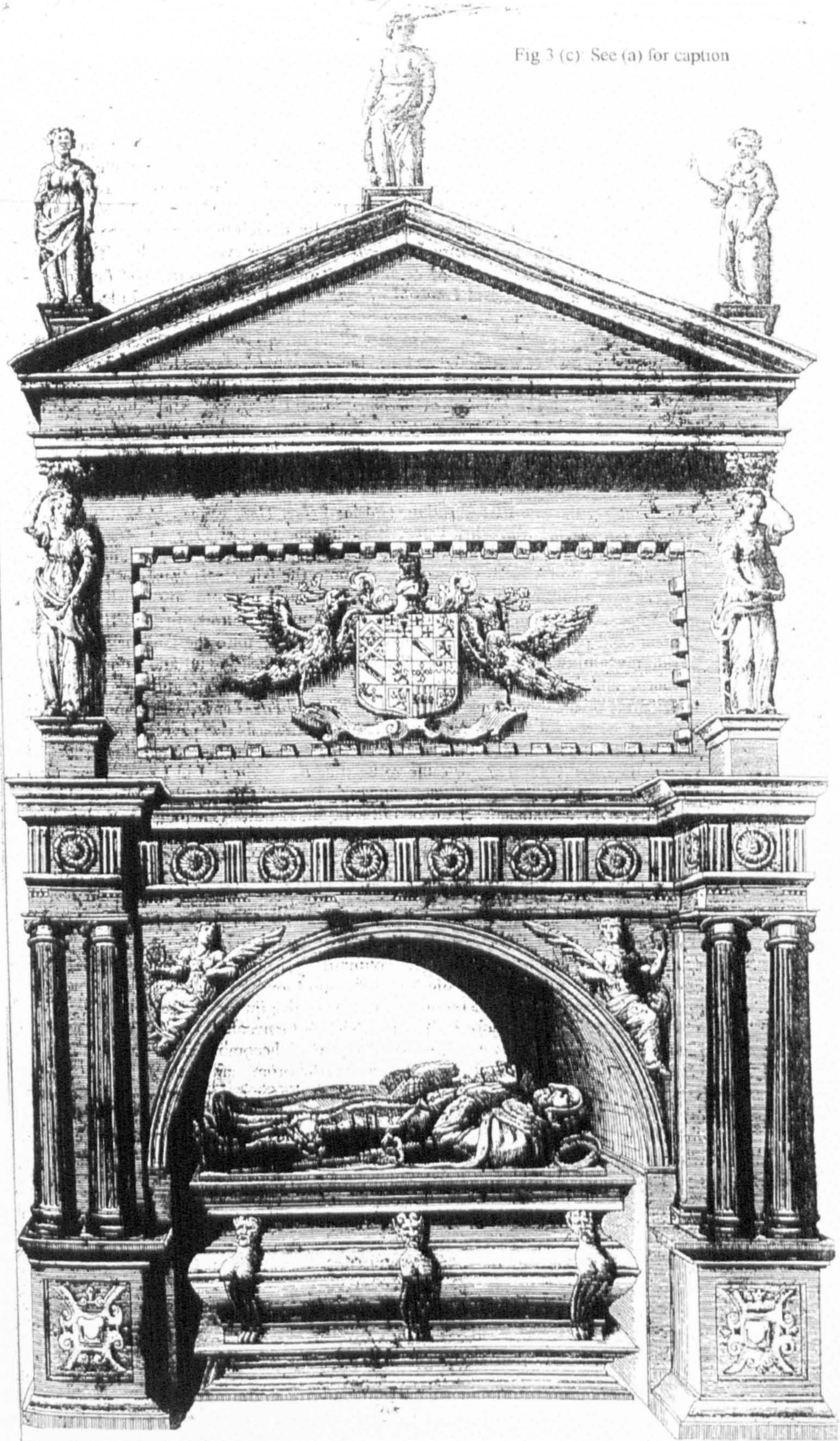


Plate 6. Tomb of John, first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire
(Succinct Genealogies, 1685)

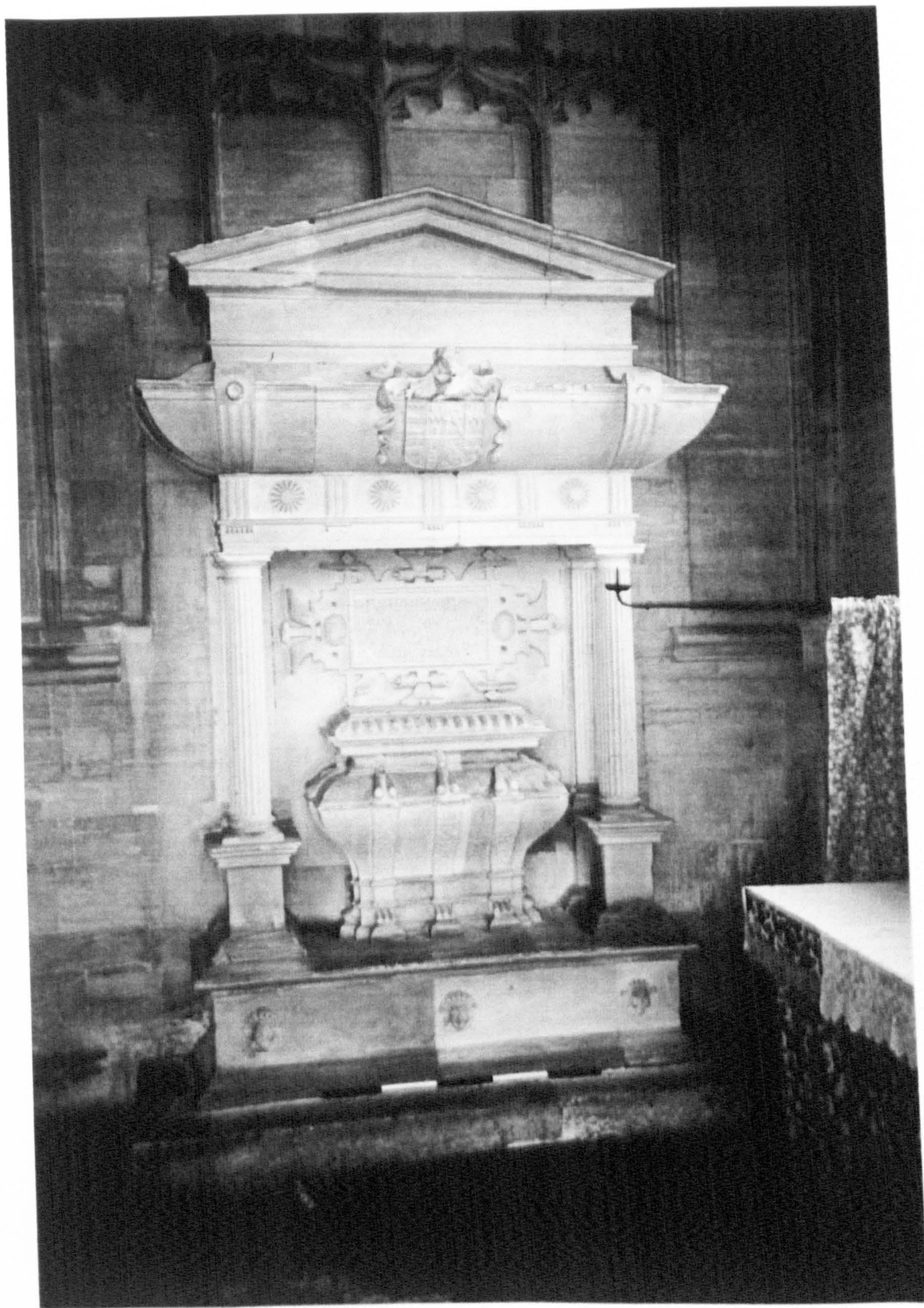


Plate 7. Tomb of Alexander Denton, Hillesden, Buckinghamshire



Plate 8. Tomb of the Knightley family, Fawsley, Northamptonshire

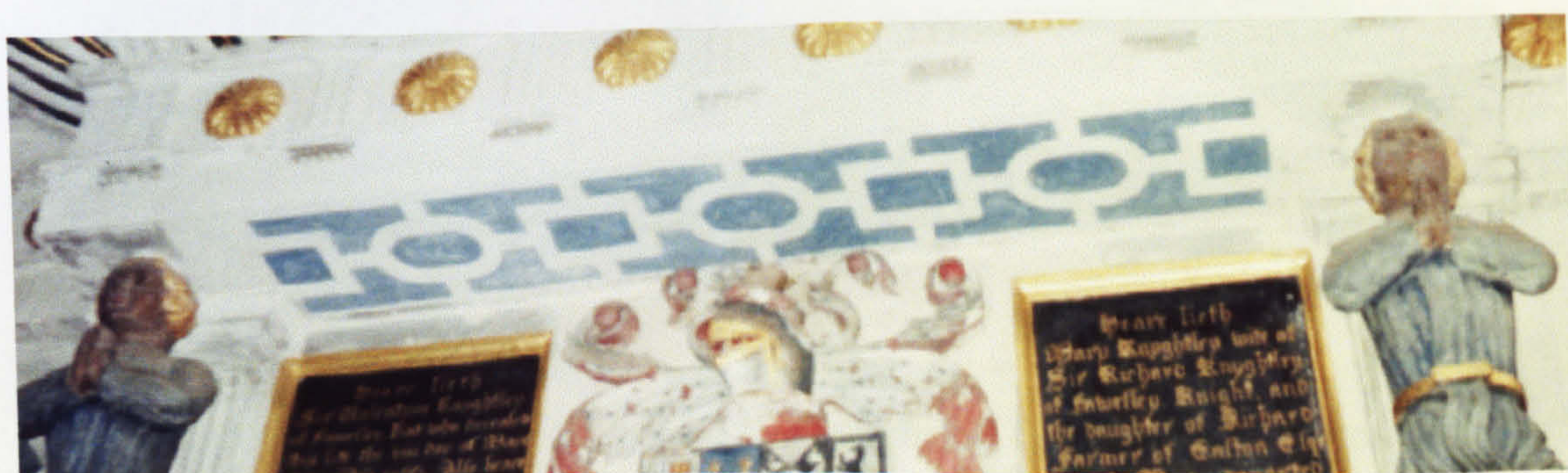


Plate 9. Knightley tomb: detail of the design under the entablature

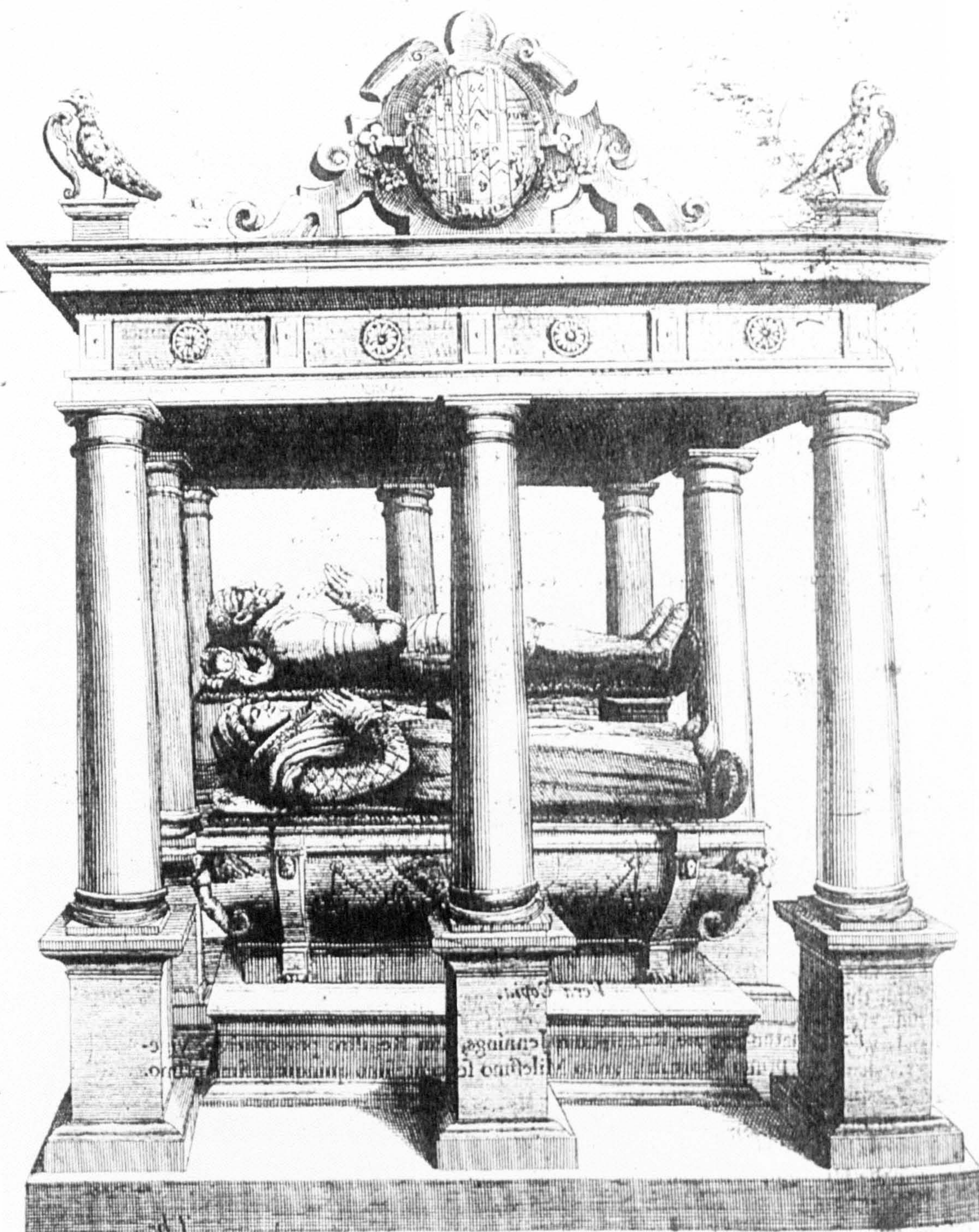


Plate 10. Tomb of John, second lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire
(Succinct Genealogies, 1685)

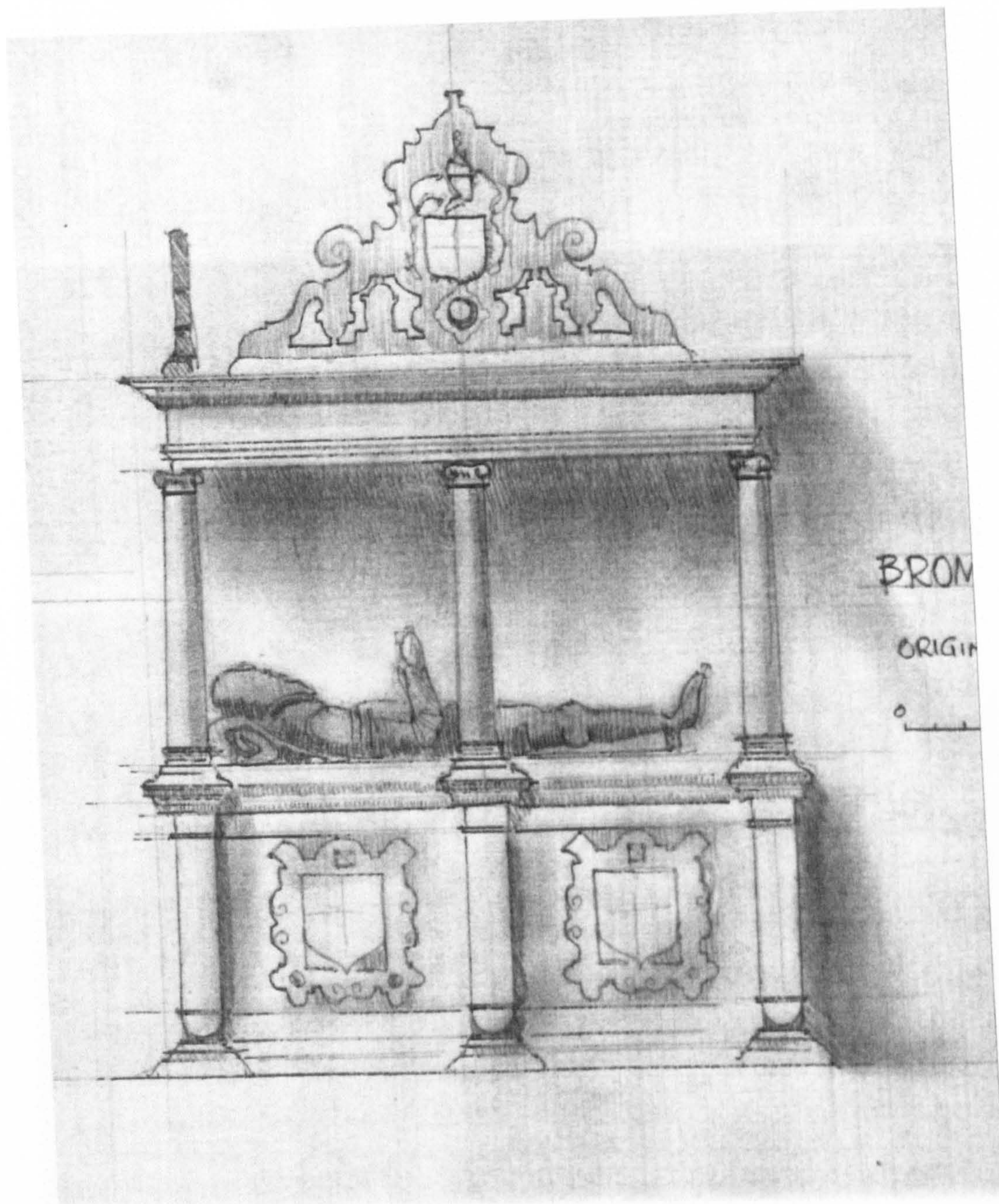


Plate 11. Tomb of Lewis Dyve, Bromham, Bedfordshire



Plate 12. Tomb of Thomas Snagge, Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire



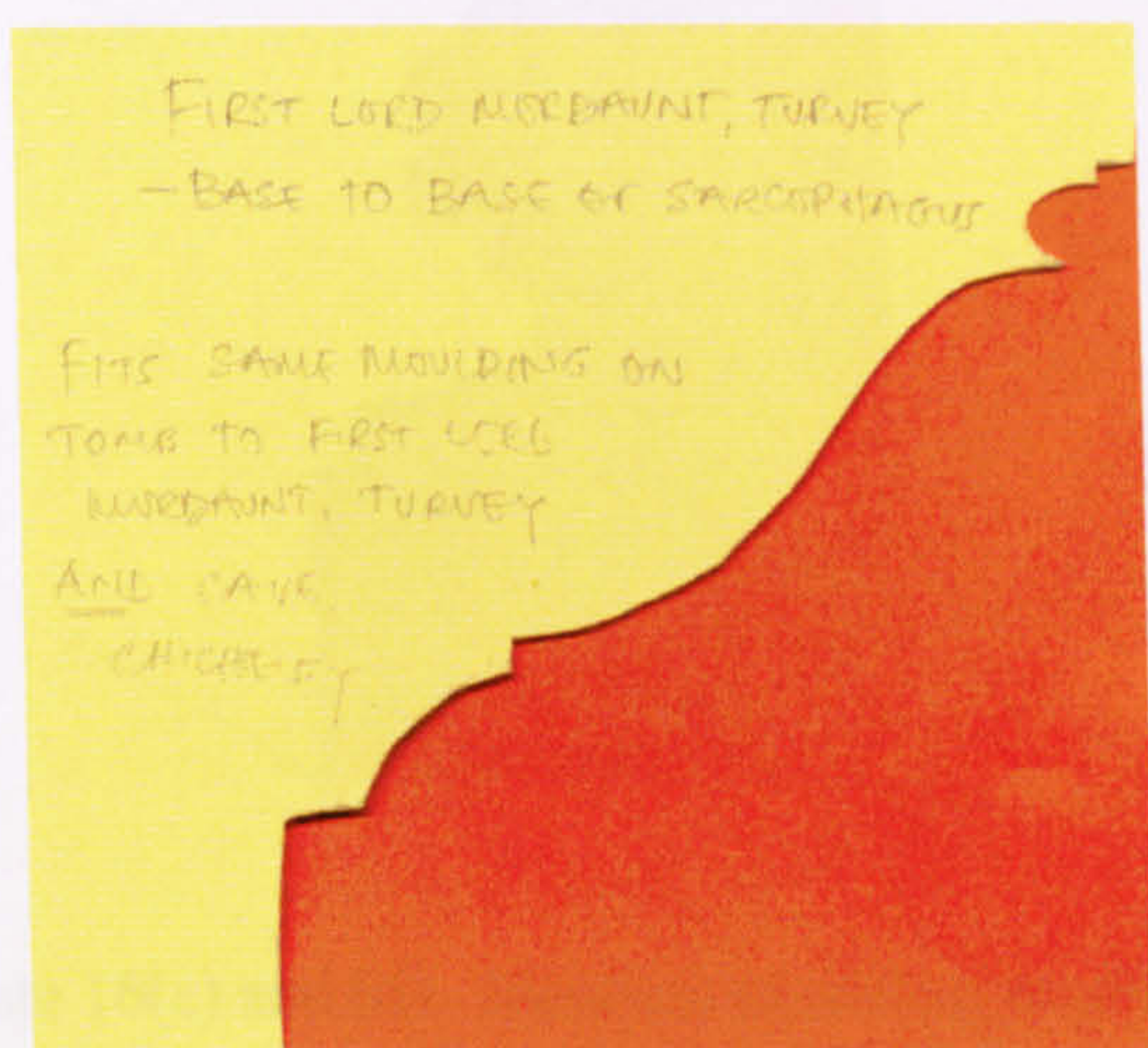
Plate 13. Tomb of John Thomson, Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire



Plate 14. Tomb of Elizabeth Conyers, Hornby, Yorkshire



Plate 15(a). Moulding profiles on the tomb of Anthony Cave, Chicheley, Buckinghamshire



Plates 15(b) and (c) above, are the same pieces of cardboard shown in Plate 15(a), and they were both cut to fit the equivalent mouldings on the tombs of the first and second lords Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire.

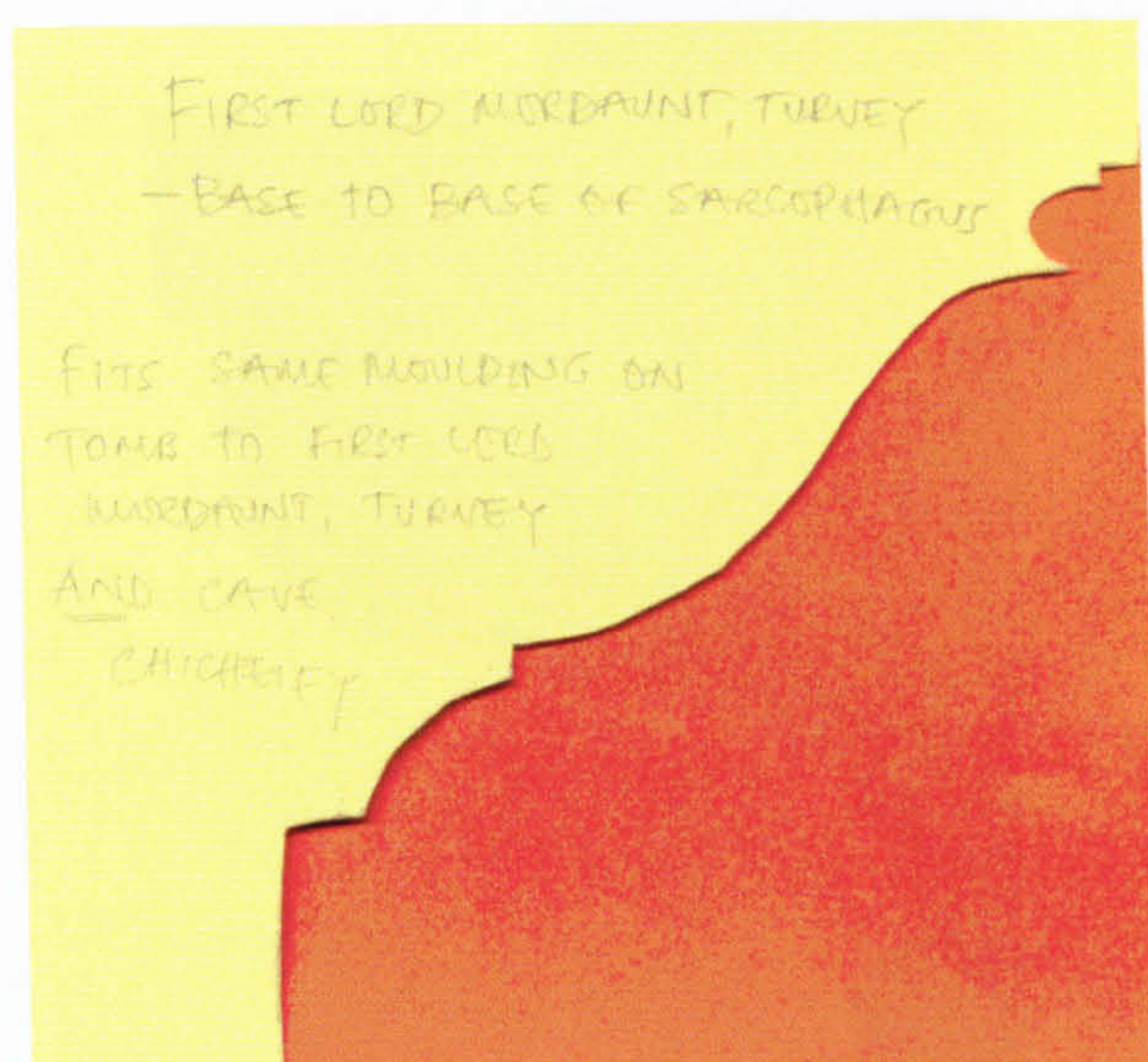


Plate 16(a) and (b). Identical moulding profiles from the pedestal bases and fasciae on the Snagge tomb at Marston Moretaine and the Thomson tomb at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire.

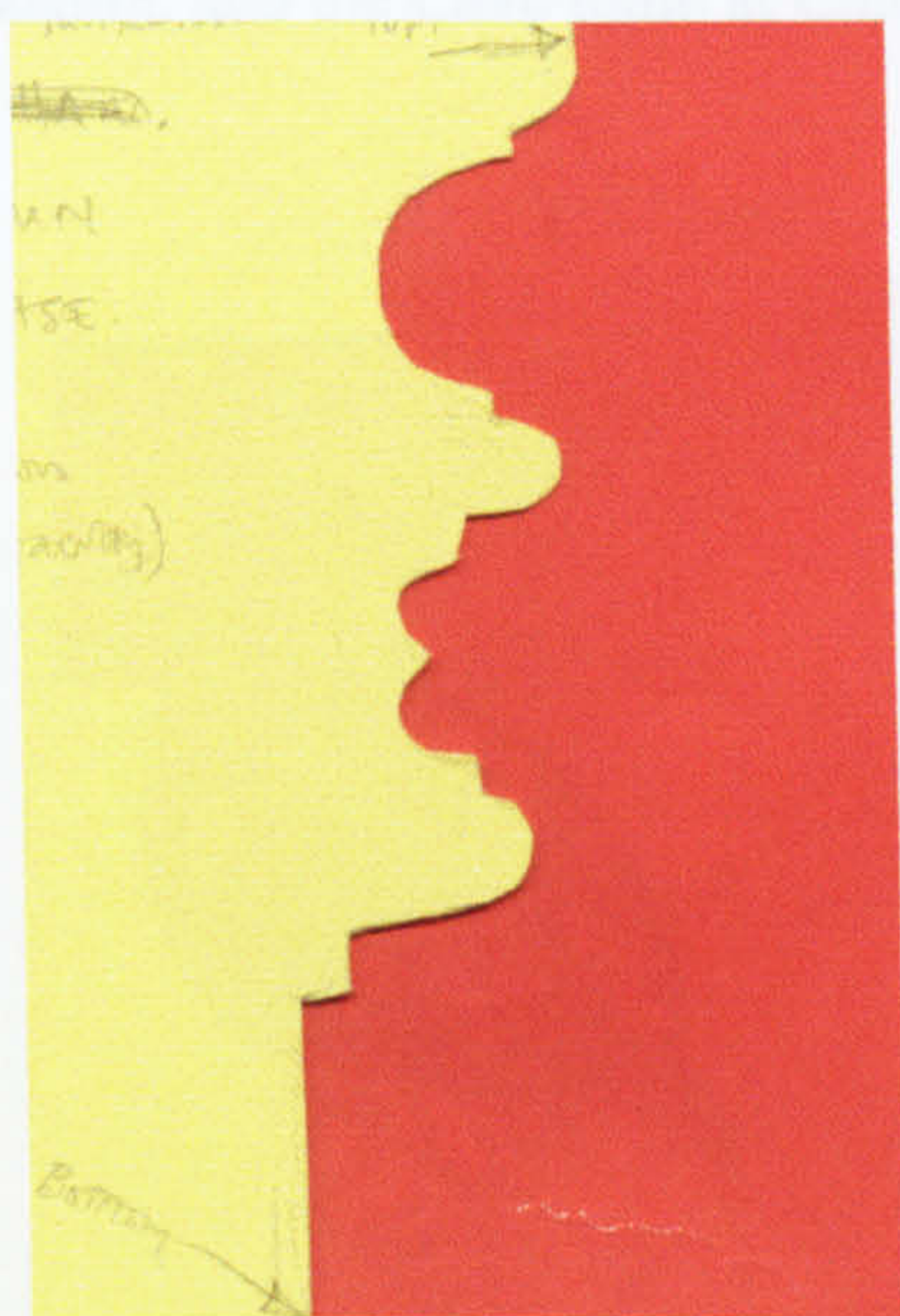


Plate 16(c) and (d). Identical moulding profiles from the ionic column bases and cornices on the Snagge tomb at Marston Moretaine and the Thomson tomb at Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire.

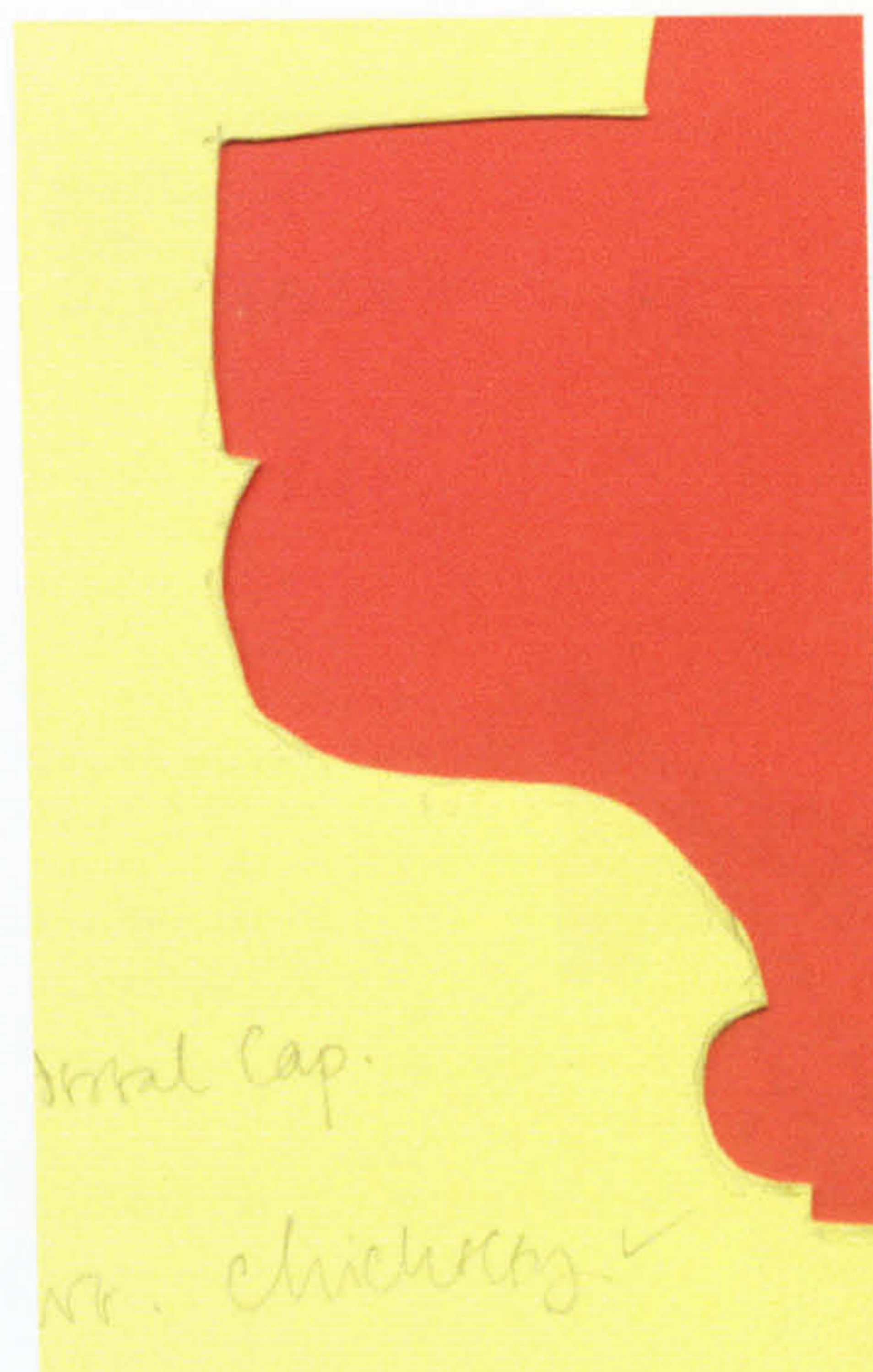
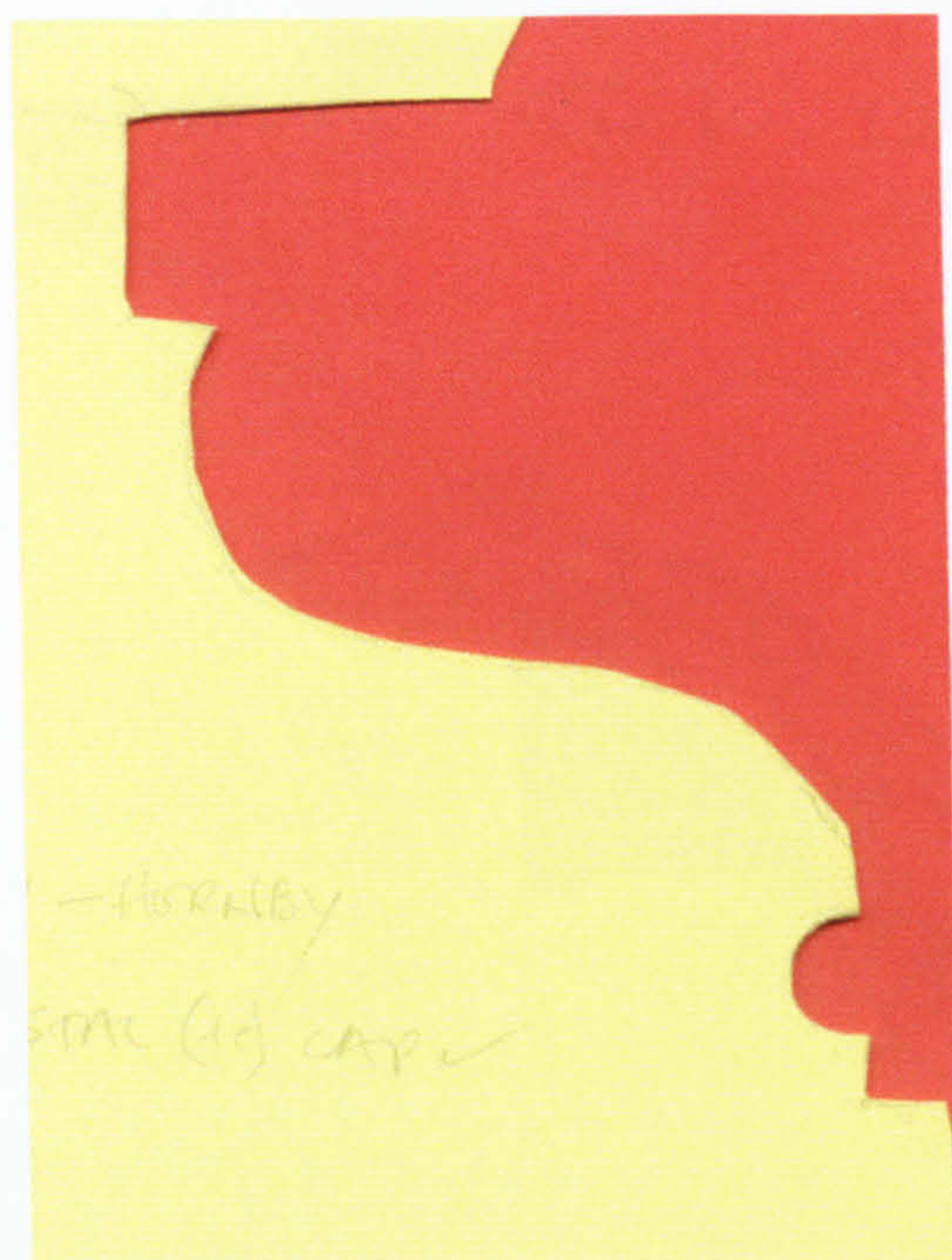


Plate 17(a) and (b). Moulding profiles from pedestal caps on the Conyers tomb at Hornby, Yorkshire, and the Cave tomb at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire.

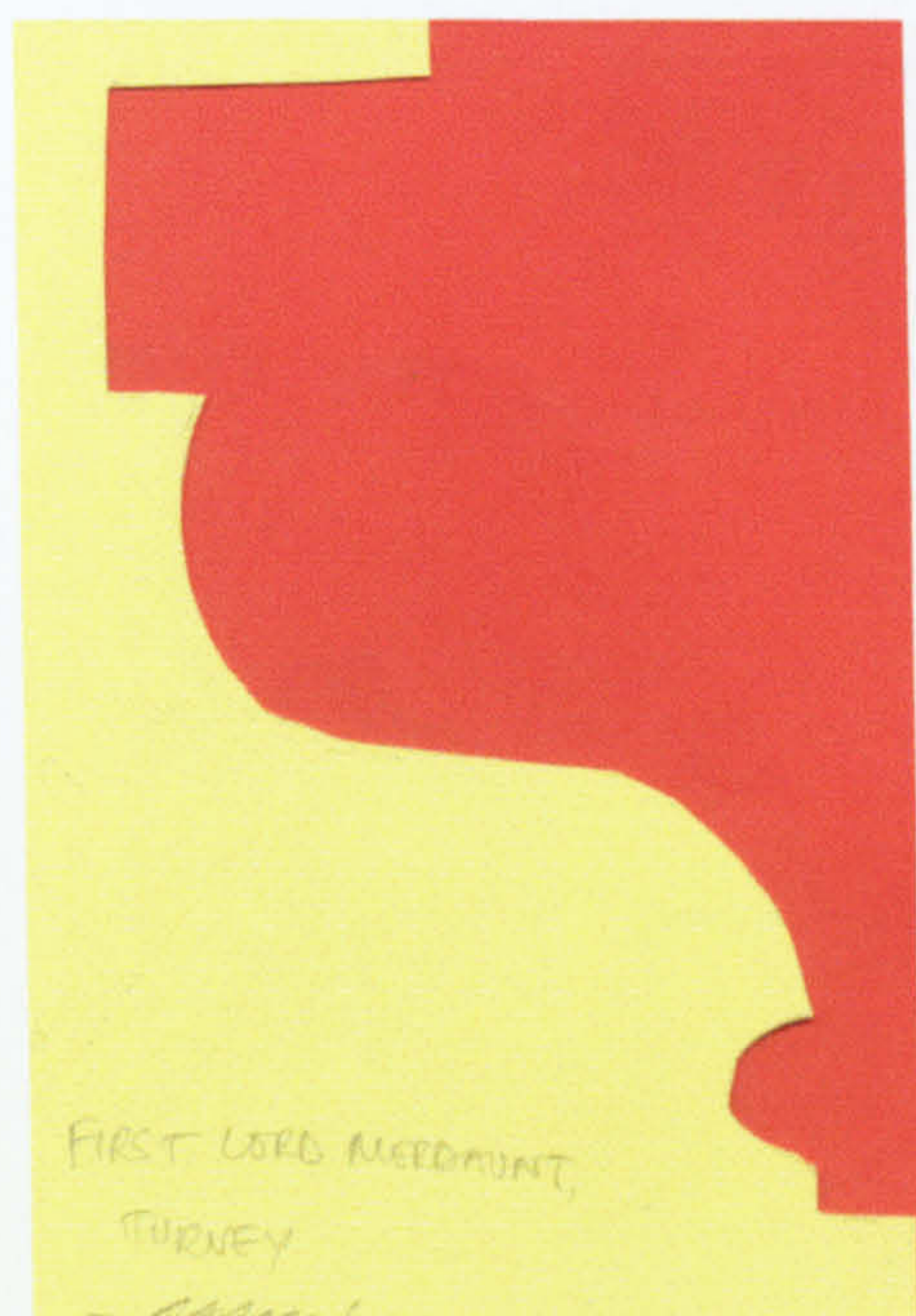


Plate 17(c) and (d). Moulding profiles from pedestal caps on the tombs of the first and second lords Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire..

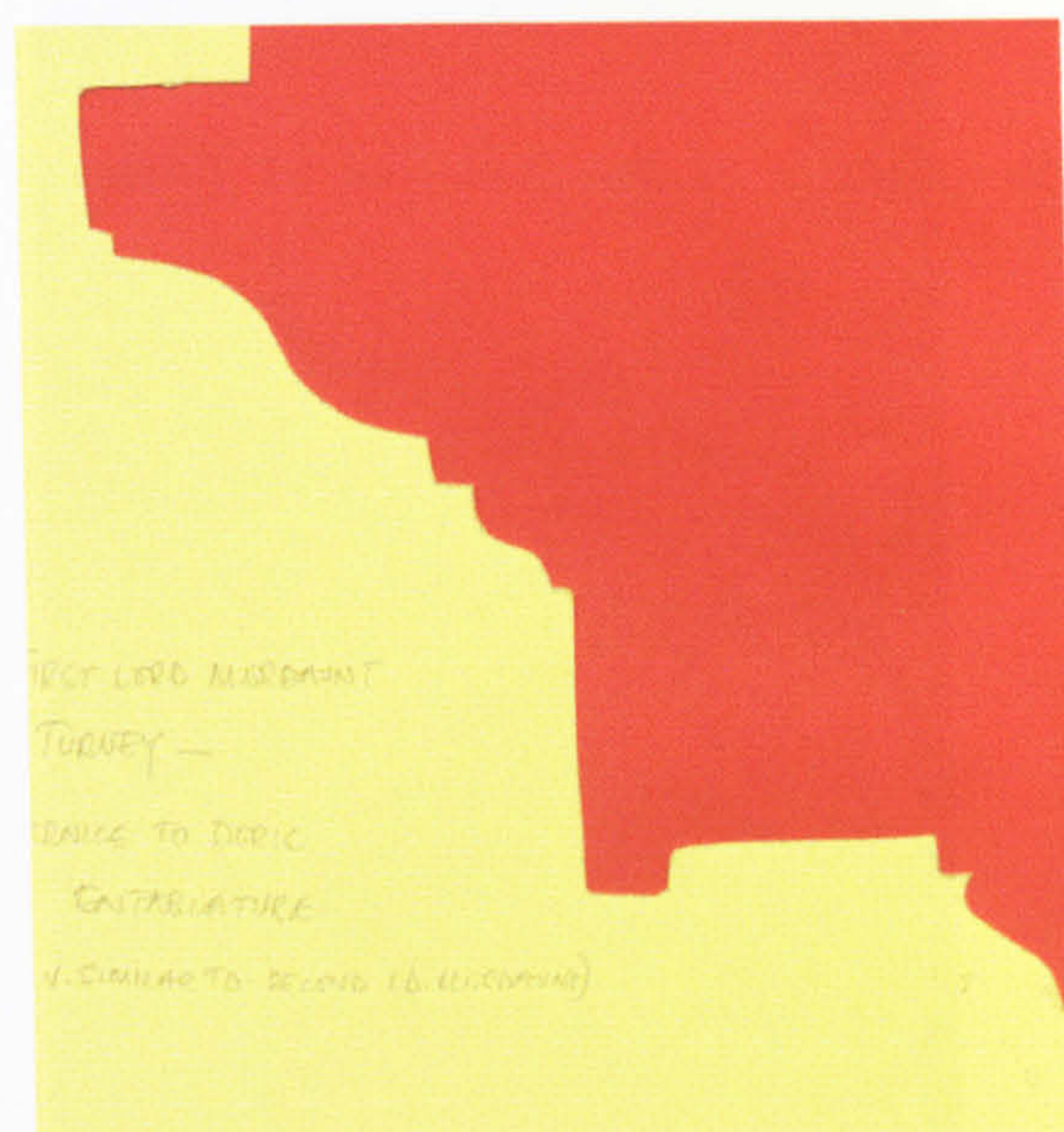


Plate 18(a) and (b). Moulding profiles from cornices on the Conyers tomb at Hornby, Yorkshire, and the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey, Bedfordshire.



Plate 18(c). Moulding profile from the cornice on the tomb of the second lord Mordaunt, Turvey.

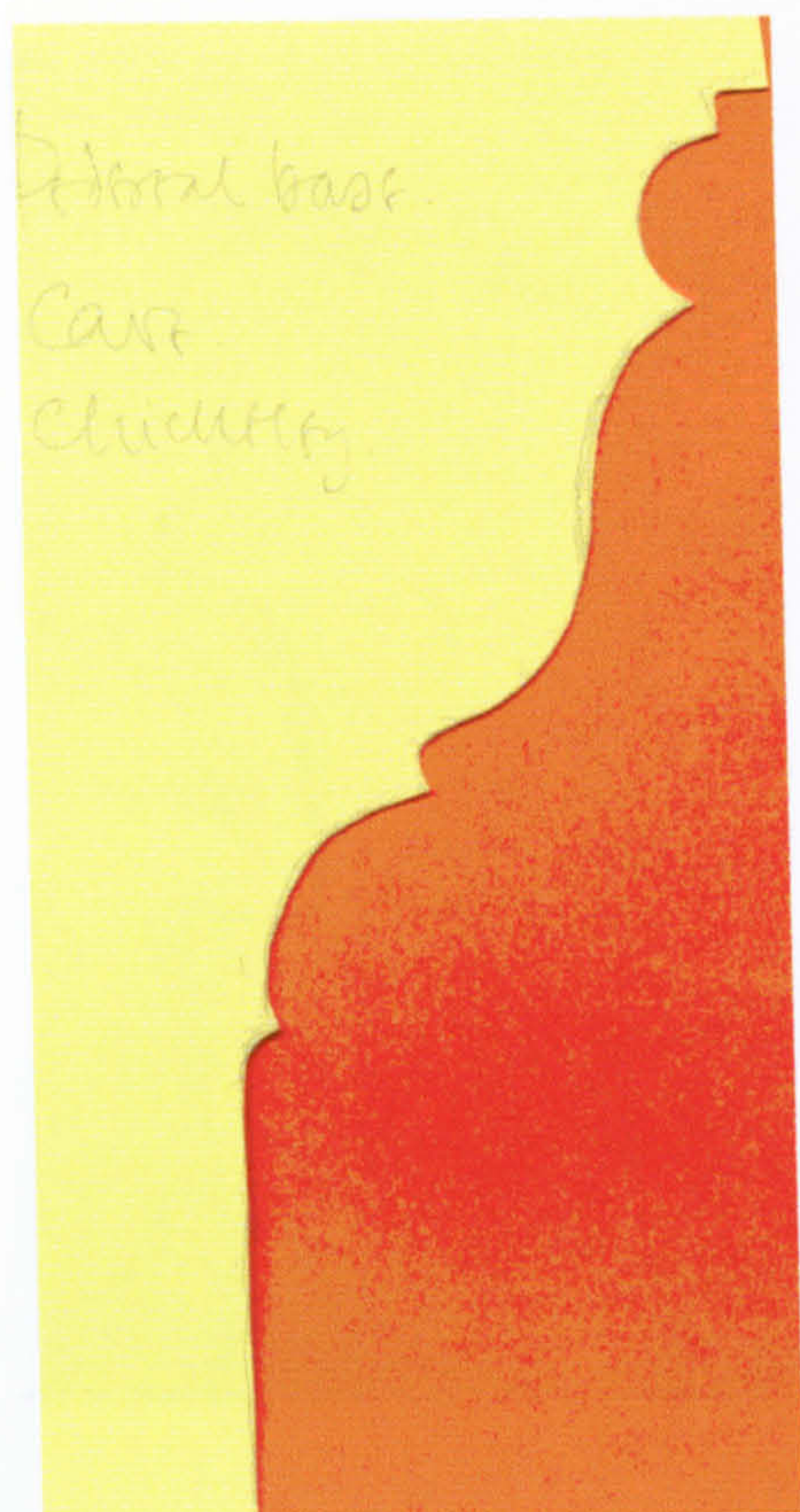


Plate 19(a) and (b). Moulding profiles from pedestals on the Cave tomb at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire, and the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire.

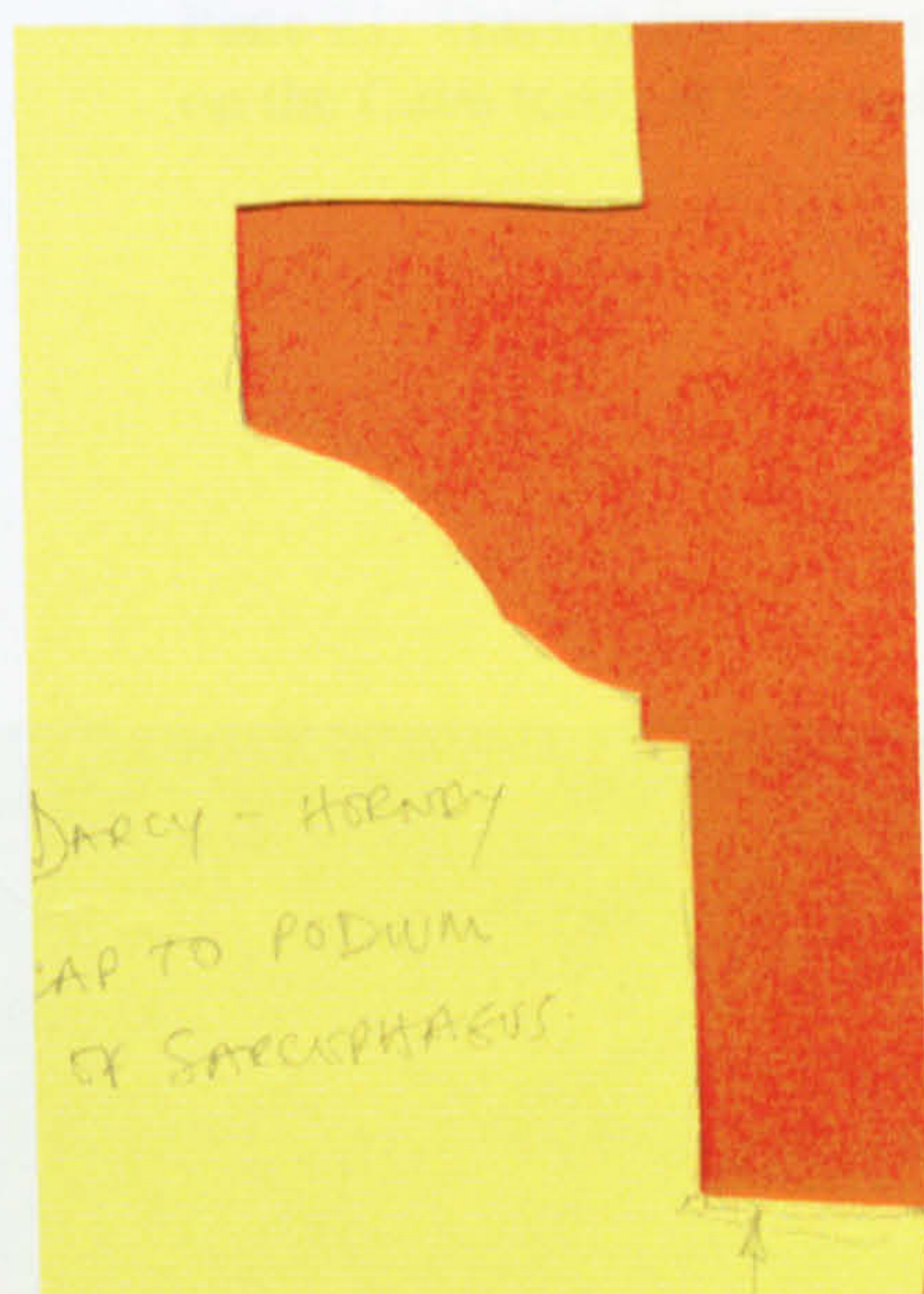


Plate 19(c). Moulding profile from the cap of the podium or plinth on which the sarcophagus stands, Conyers tomb at Hornby, Yorkshire.



Plate 20. Caryatides and back-panel from the Cave tomb, Chicheley, Buckinghamshire



Plate 21. Tracing from one of the heads flanking the inscription on the Cave tomb at Chicheley.



Plate 22. Cadaver on the sarcophagus of the Cave tomb, Chicheley.



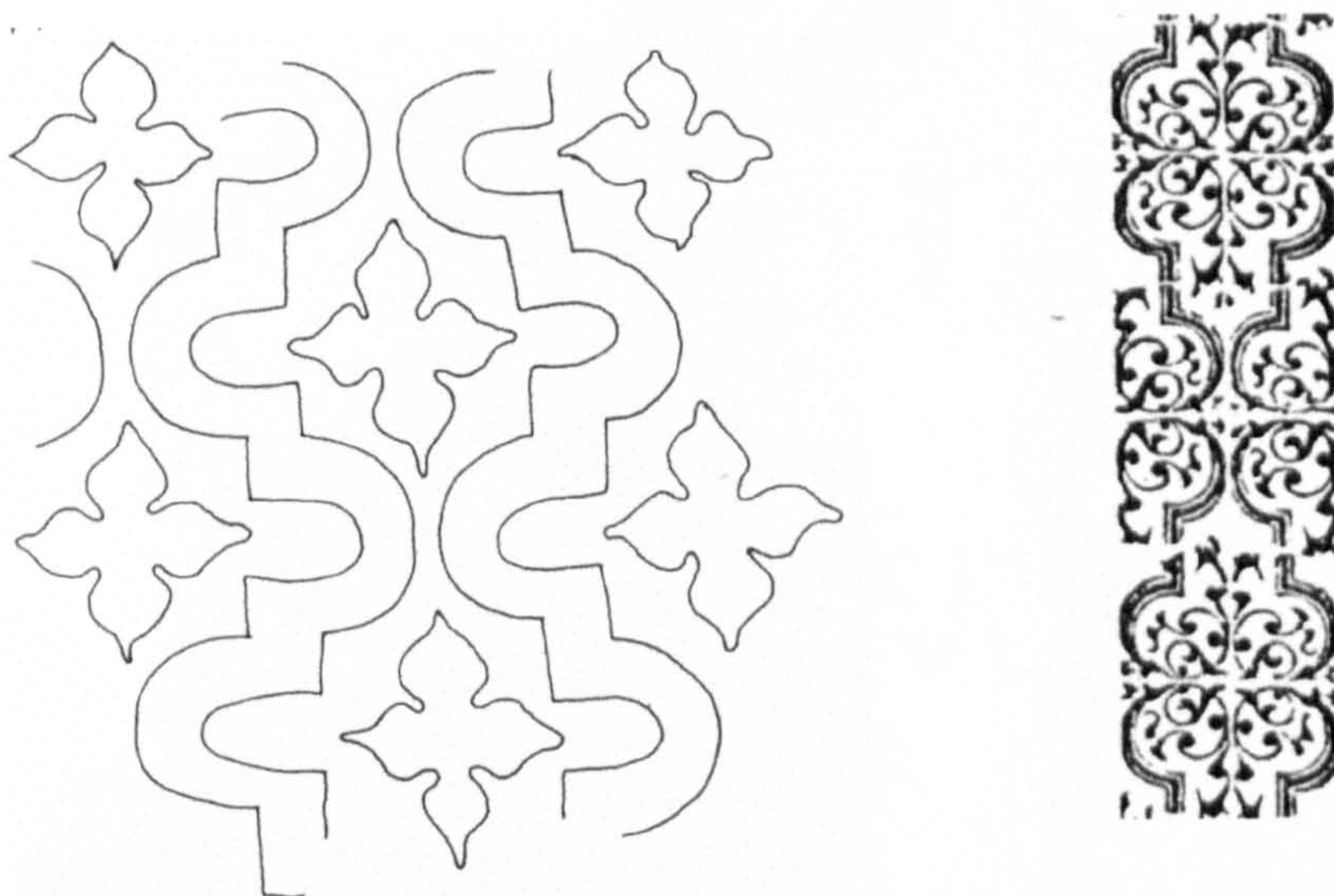
Plate 23. Sarcophagus, tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire



Plate 24. Effigies, tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey



Plate 25. Effigies from the tomb of the second lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire



Plates 26 (above left) and 27 (above right). Plate 26 is a tracing from the pattern on the dress of the female effigy on the south side of the tomb of the second lord Mordaunt, Turvey. Plate 27 is a border, for comparison, from Hieronymus Cock's *Pictorum aliquot celebrium*, 1572.

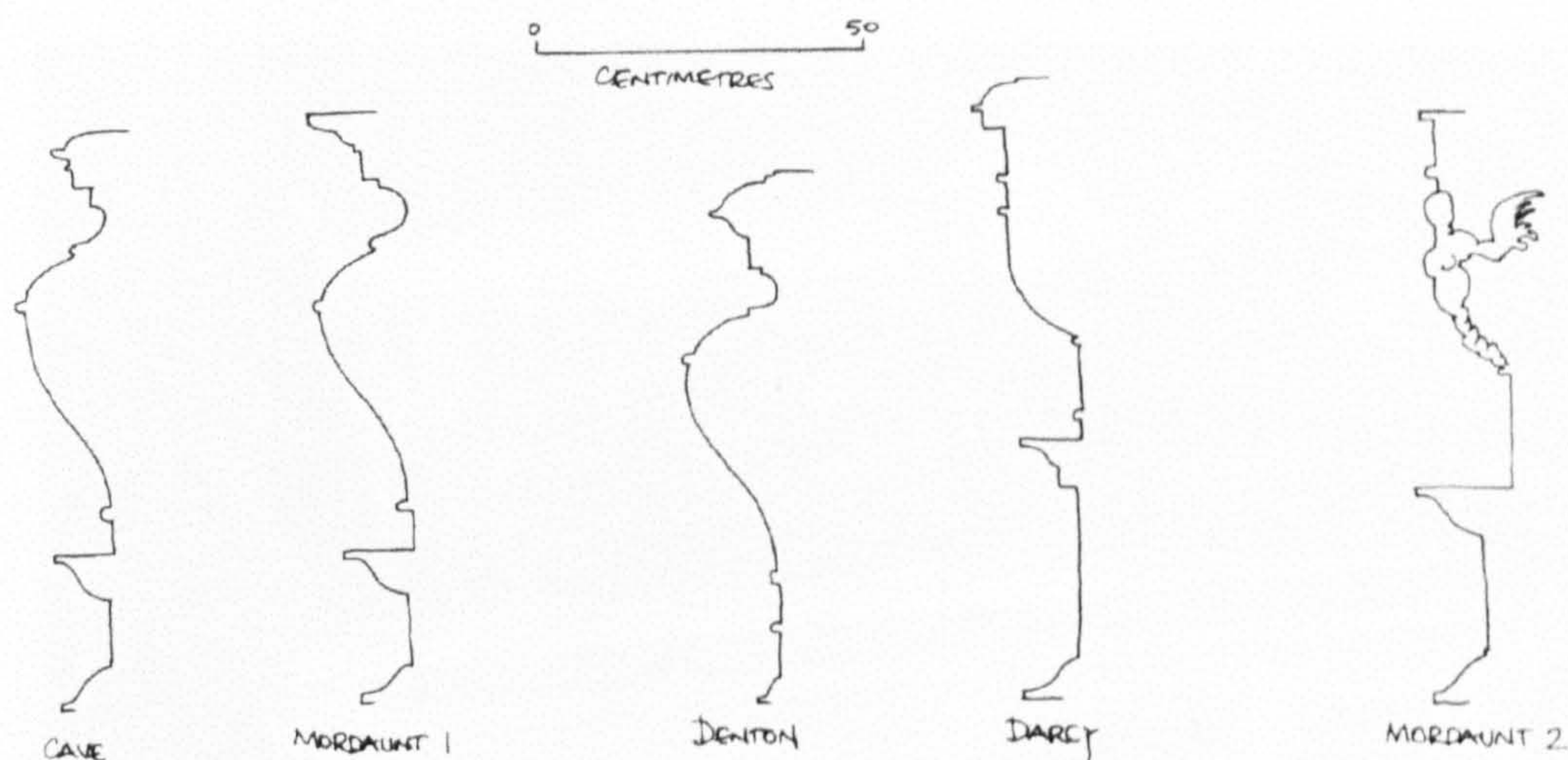


Plate 28. Profiles taken from sarcophagi. From left to right, Chicheley, Turvey (first lord Mordaunt), Hillesden, Hornby, Turvey (second lord Mordaunt).



Plate 29. Tomb of Sir John Gage, West Firle, Sussex.



Plate 30. Tomb of Alexander Denton, Hereford Cathedral



Plate 31. Effigy of Lewis Dyve, Bromham, Bedfordshire

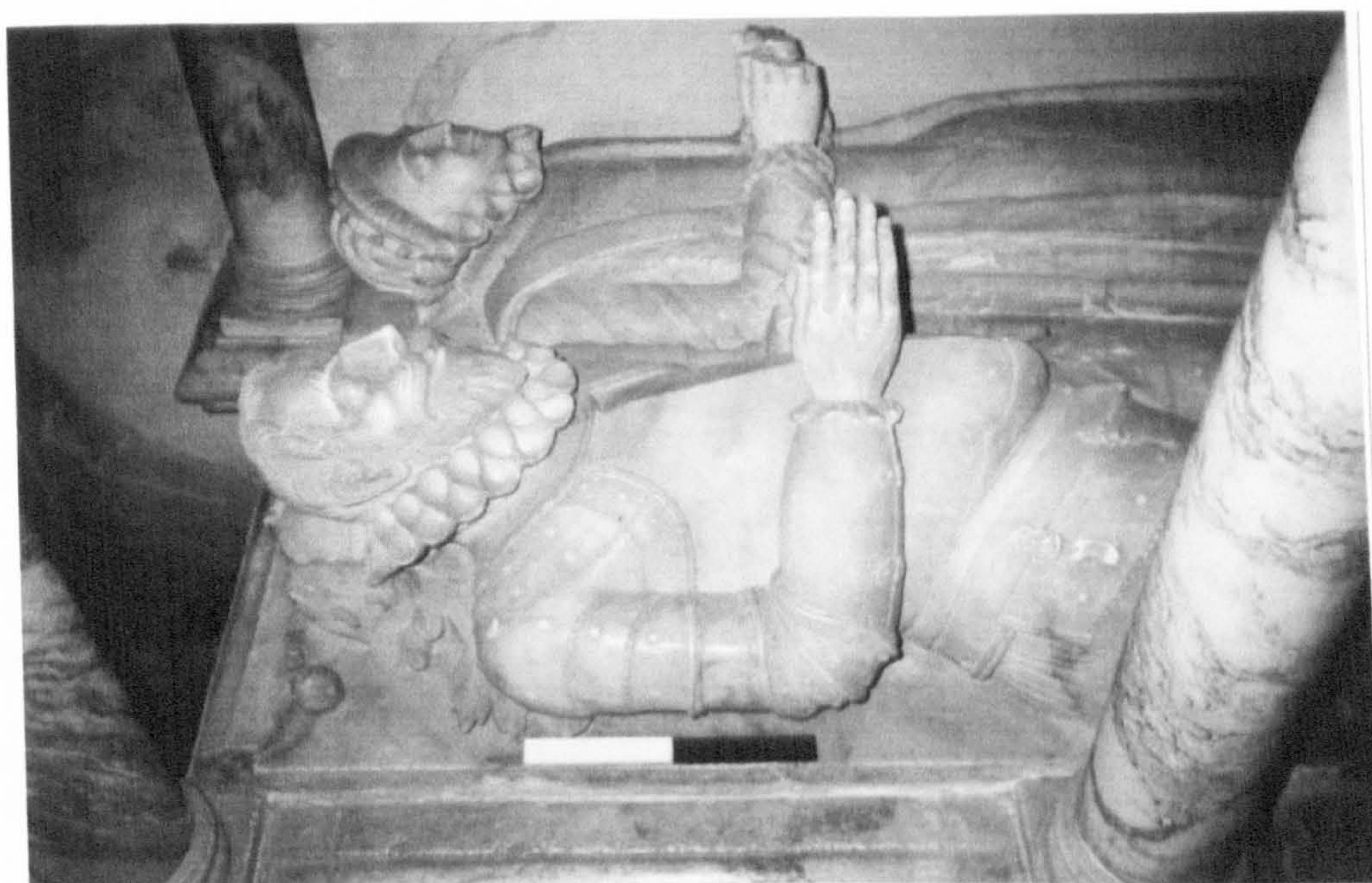


Plate 32. Effigies of John and Dorothy Thomson, Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire

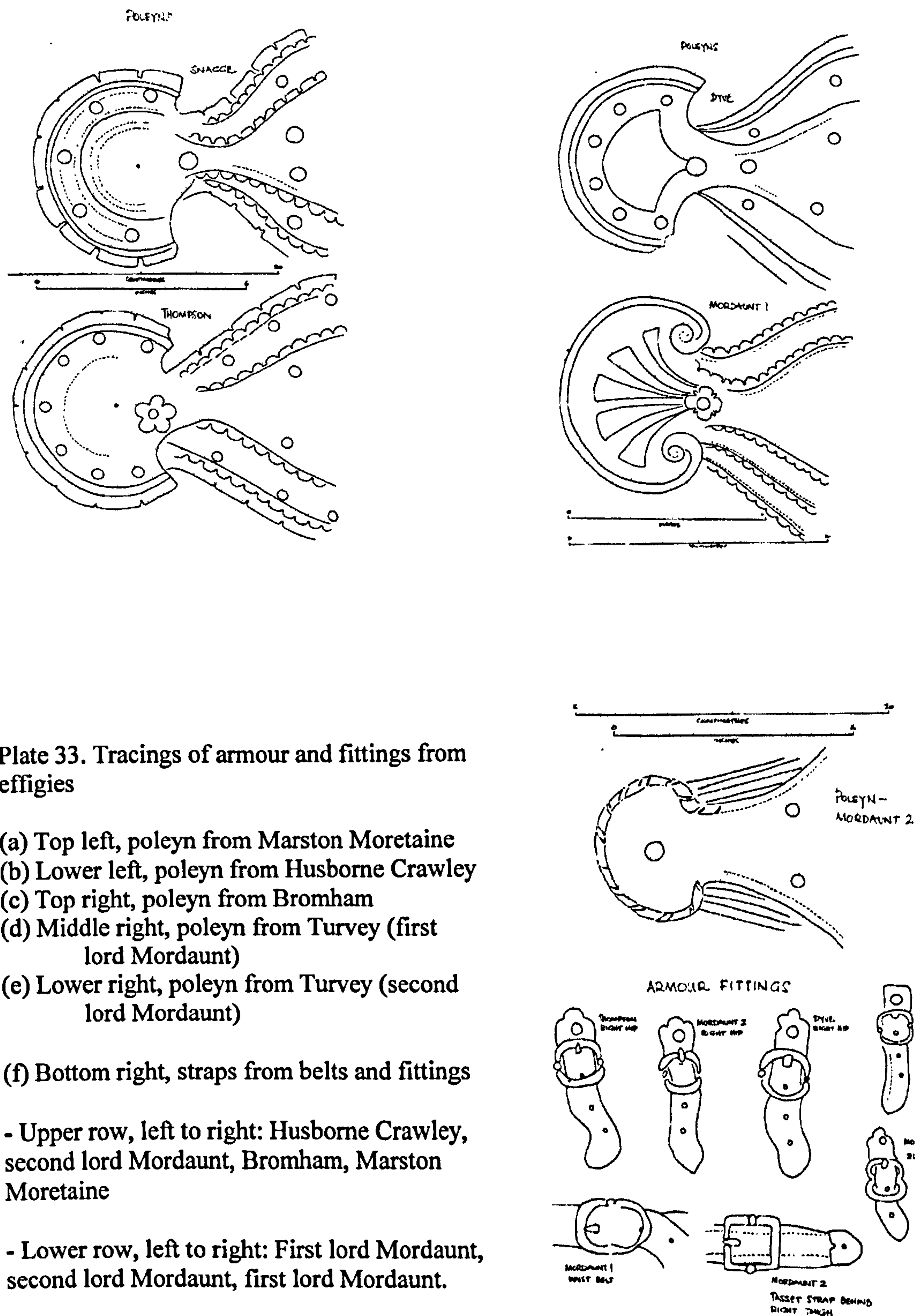




Plate 34. Effigies of Thomas and Elizabeth Snagge, Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire



Plate 35. Effigies of Thomas and Elizabeth Snagge, Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire

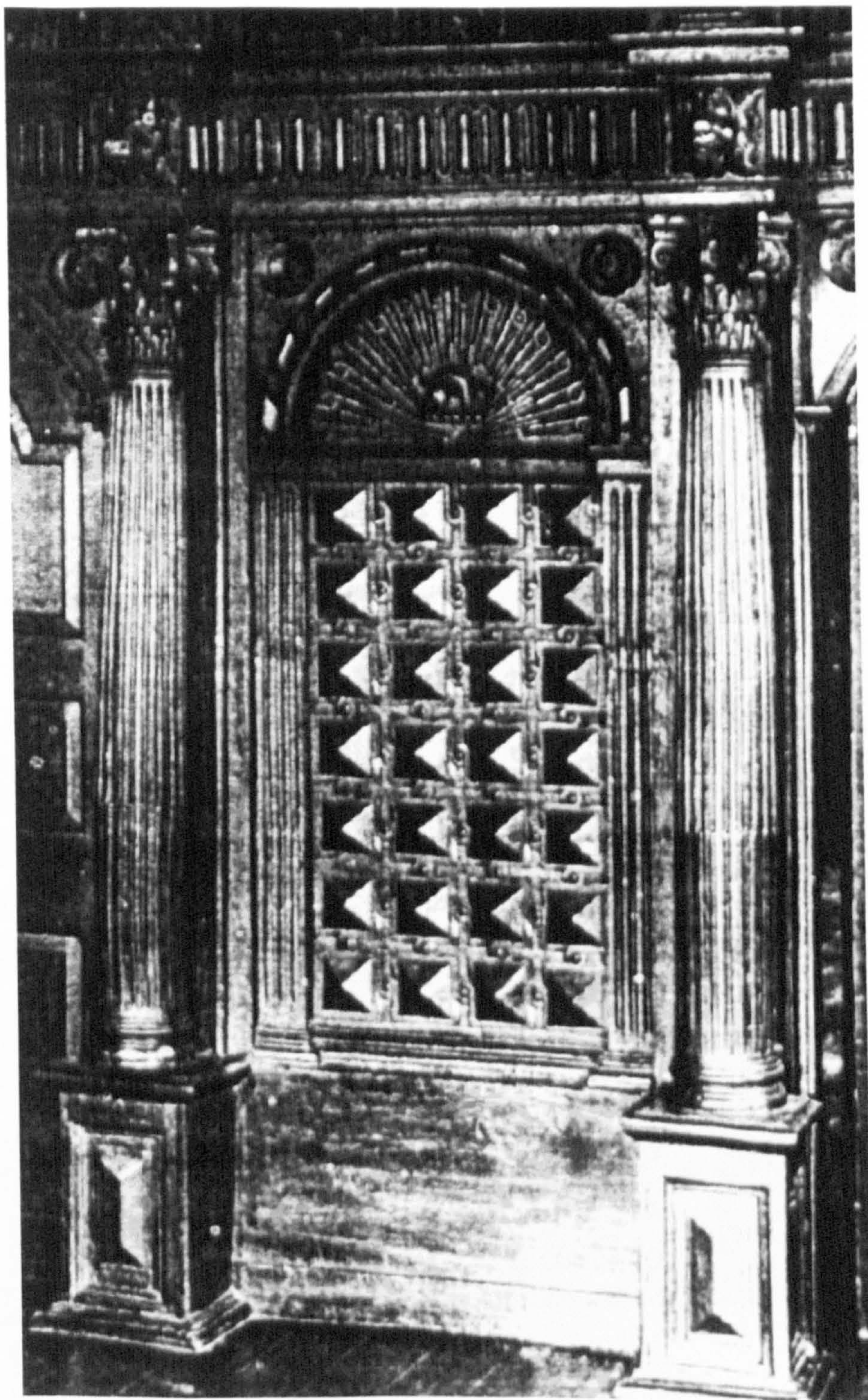


Plate 36. Panelling from Cuckfield Park, Sussex

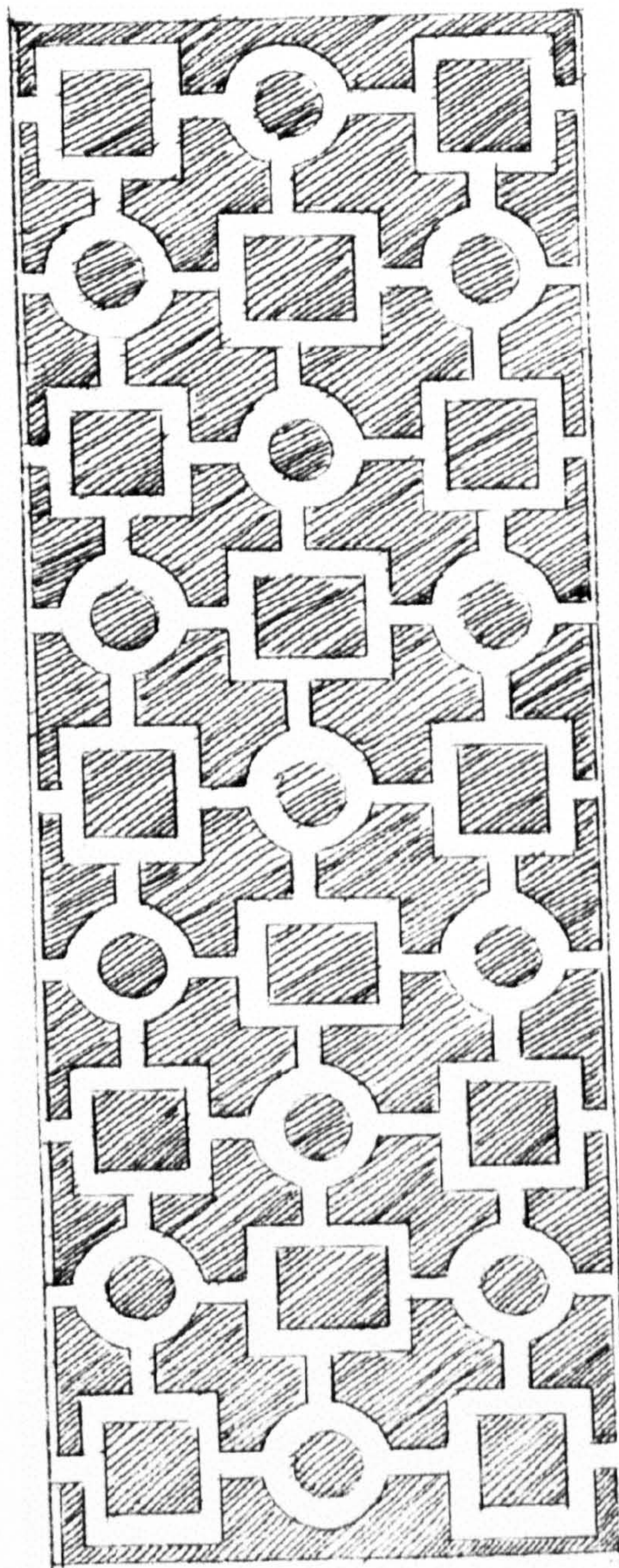
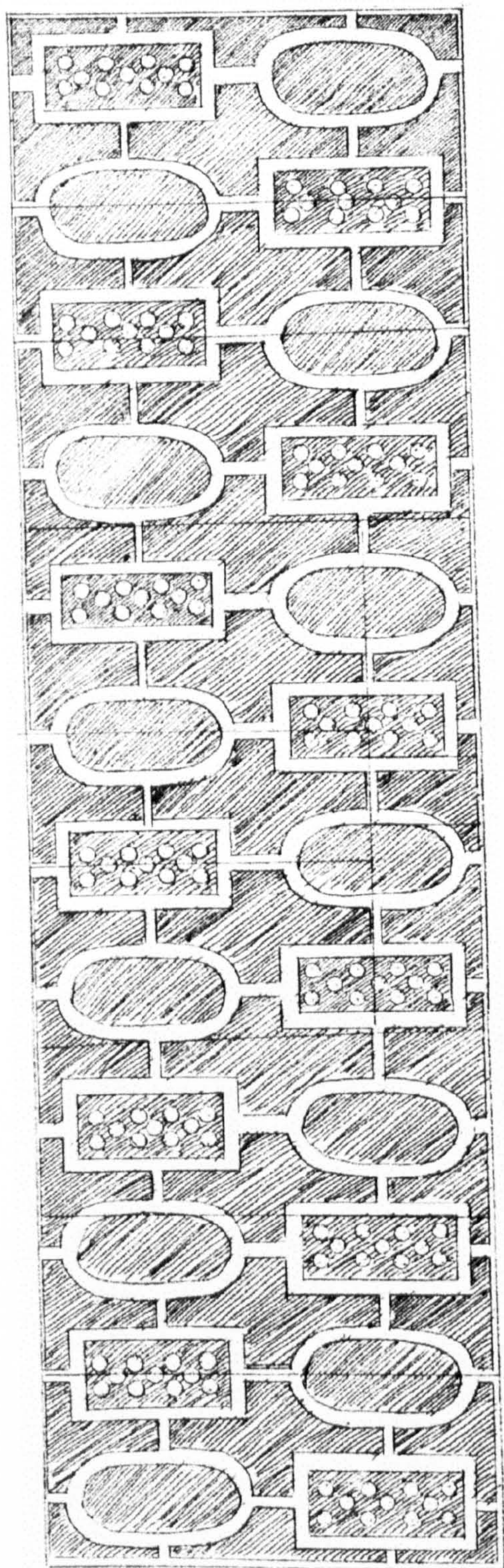


Plate 37(a) and (b). Designs from underneath the canopy of the Dormer tomb at Wing, Buckinghamshire, and underneath the arch of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire



Plate 38. General view of the Denton monuments at Hillesden, Buckinghamshire

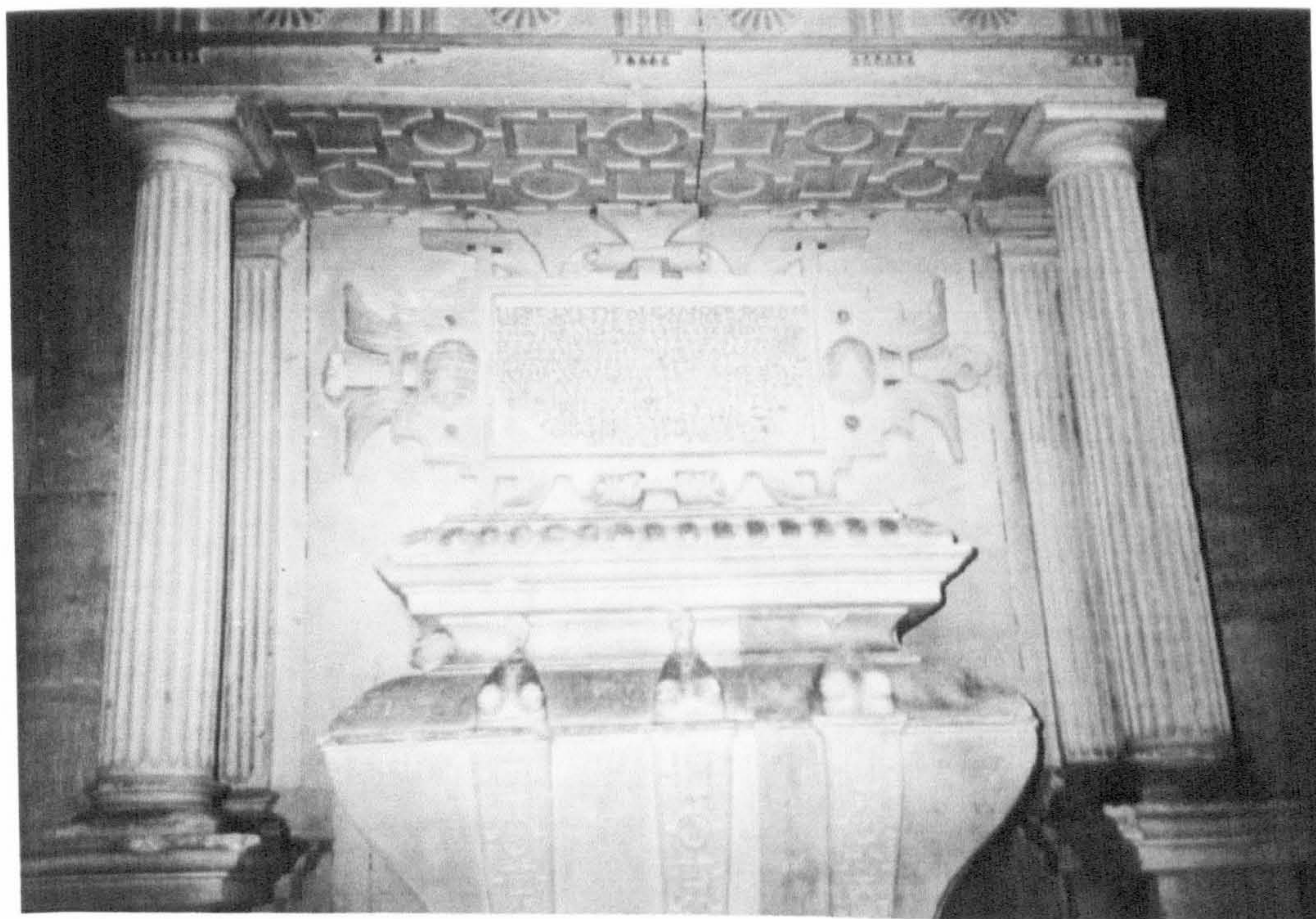


Plate 39. Tomb of Alexander Denton, Hillesden

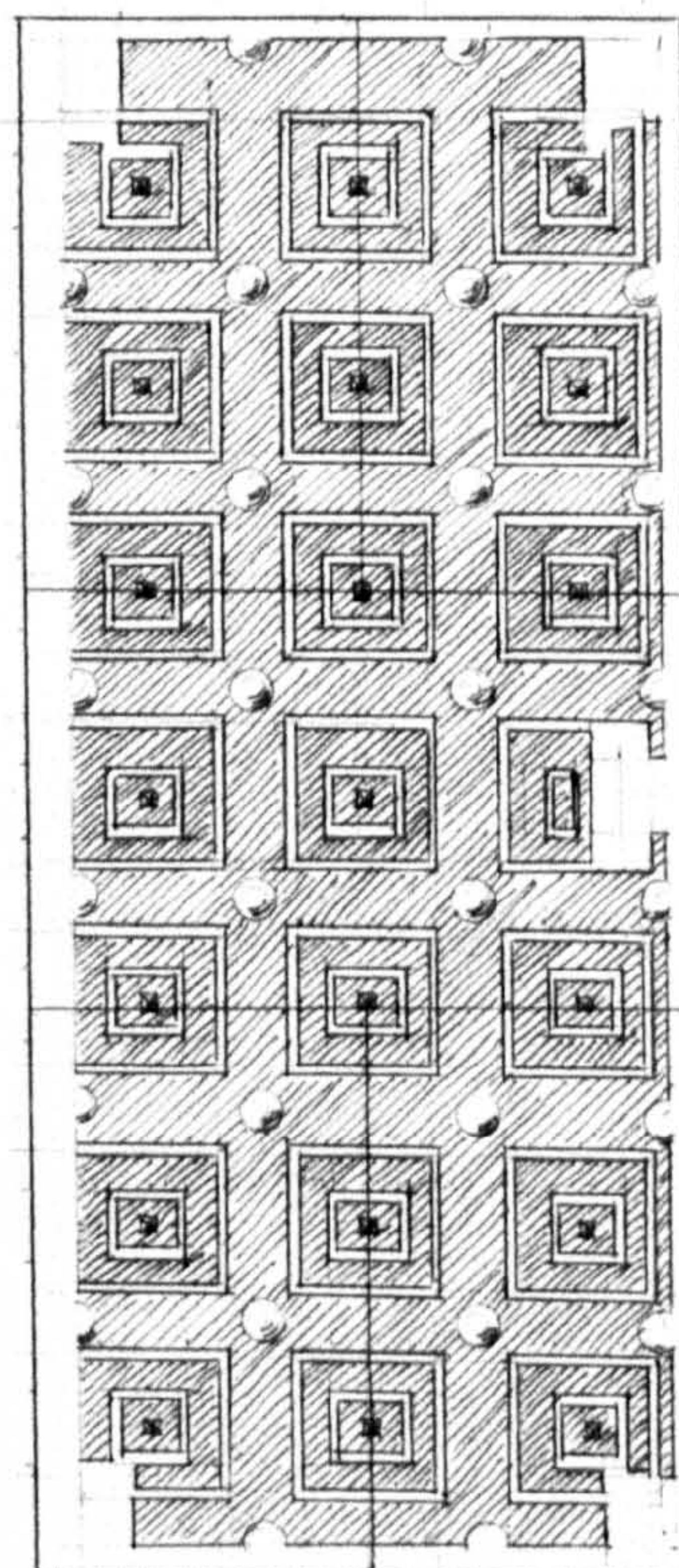
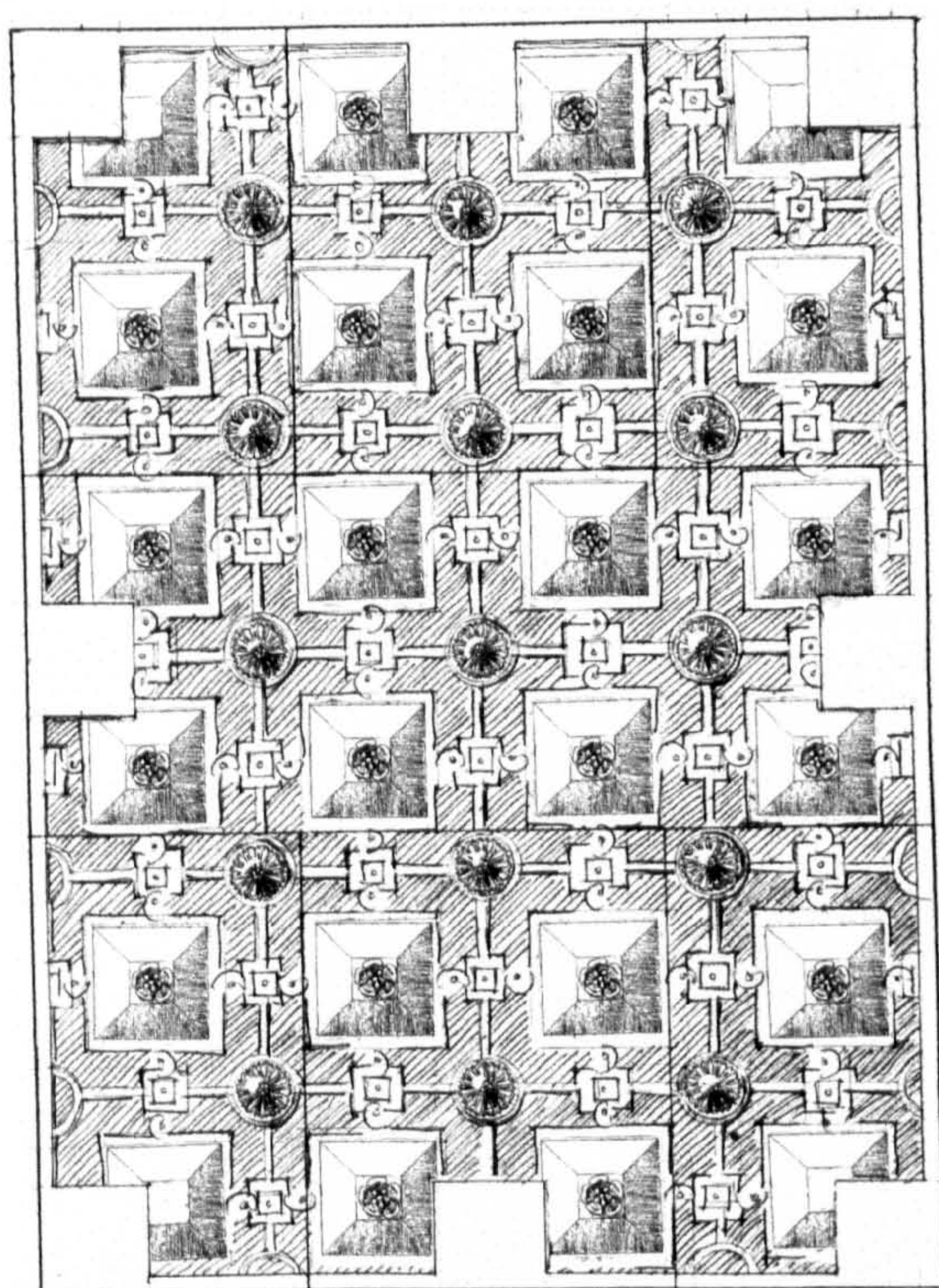


Plate 40(a) and (b). Ceilings underneath the canopies of the tombs of the second lord Mordaunt, Turvey, and Lewis Dyve, Bromham

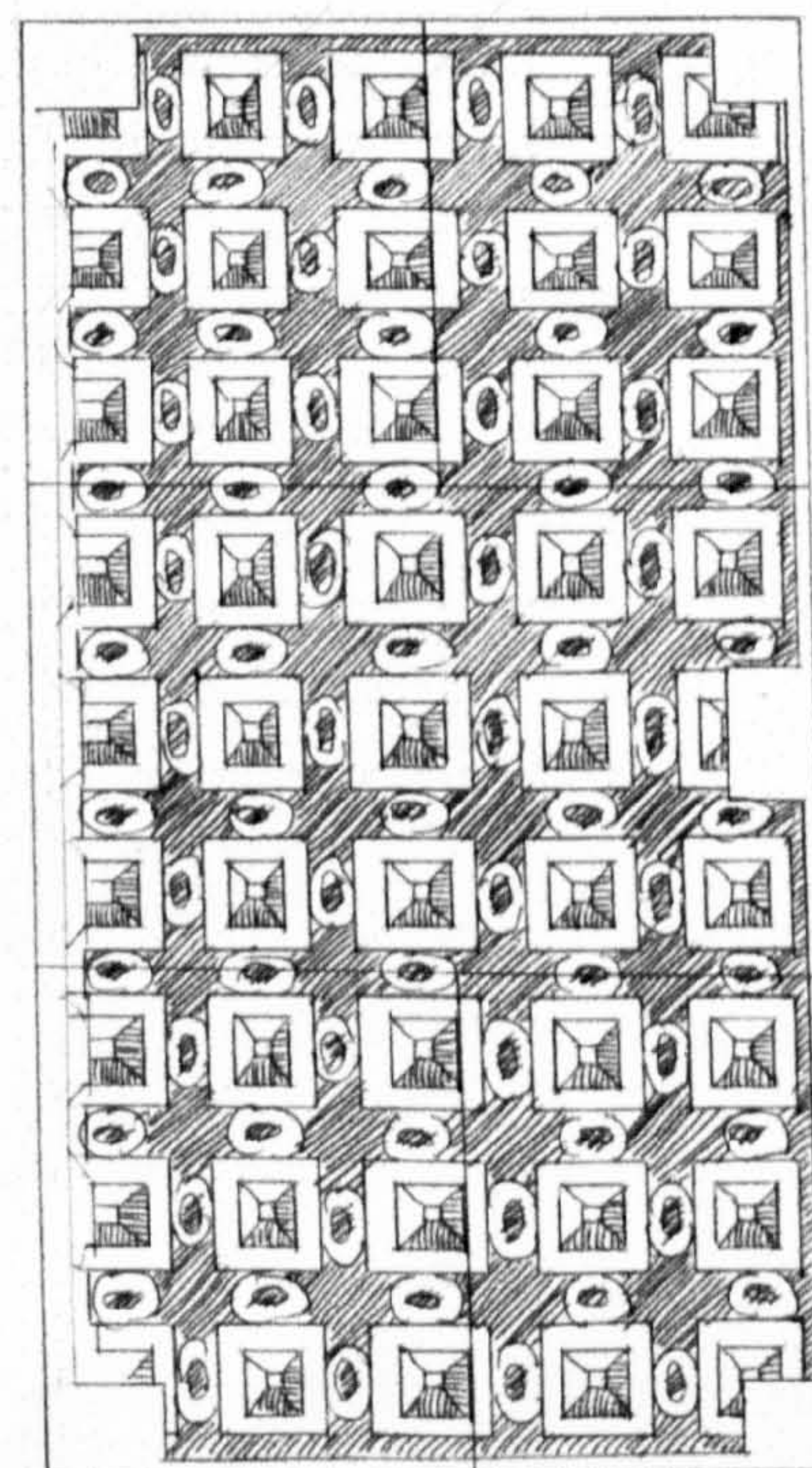
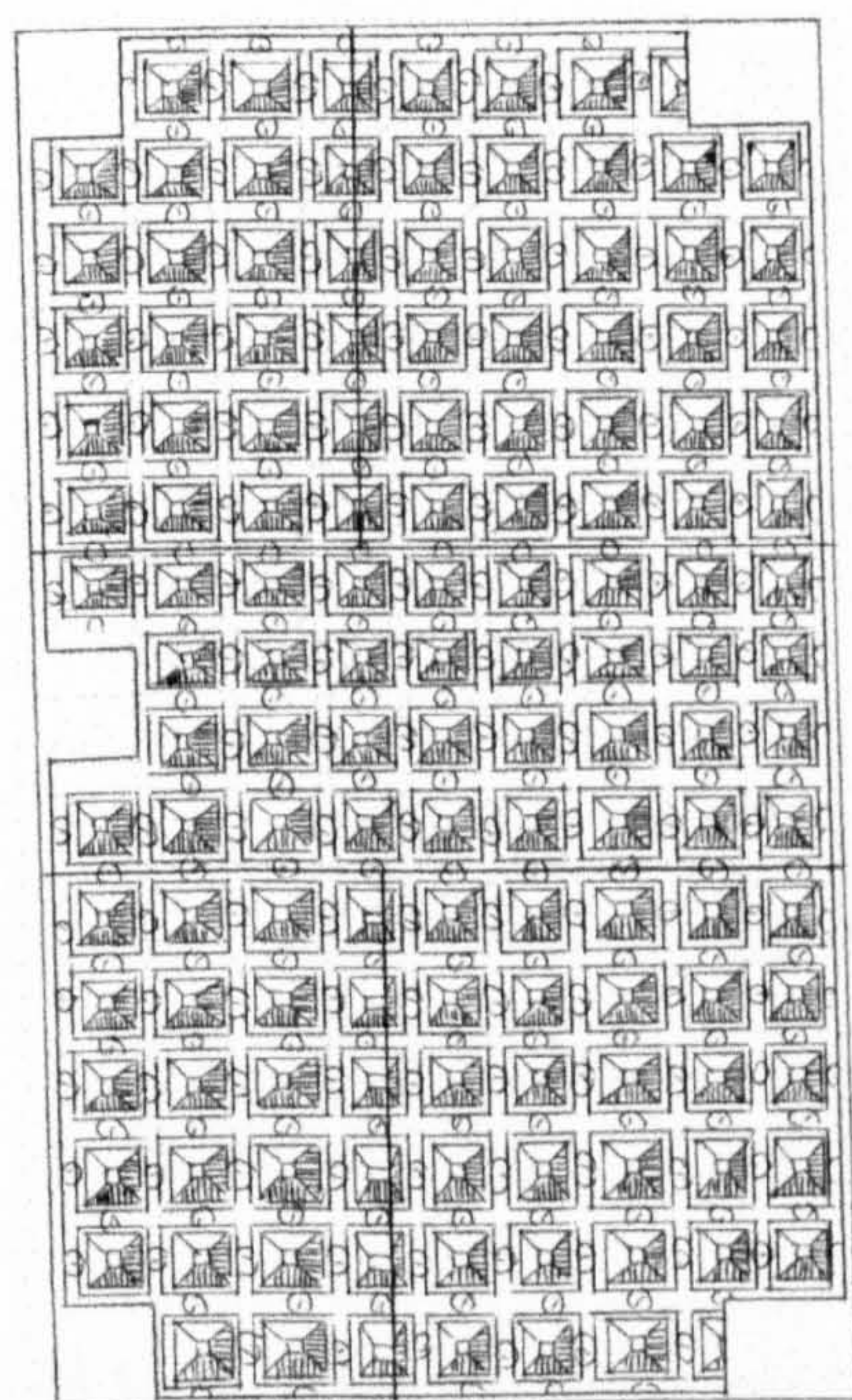
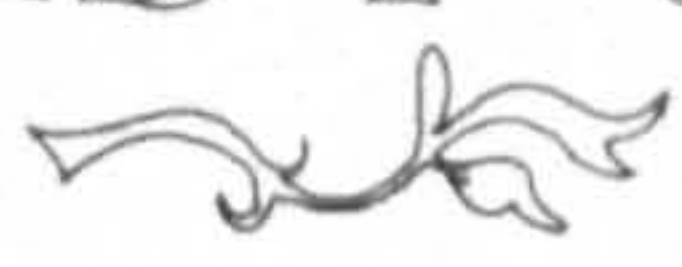


Plate 40(c) and (d). Ceilings underneath the canopies of the tombs of Thomas Snagge, Marston Moretaine, and John Thomson, Husborne Crawley

ABCDEFGHI^hILM CANE
 NO PQRSTVWYZ
 1 3 5 8 1 5 7 6


ABCDEFGHIKLM
 NOPQRSTVWXYZ
 1 3 7 2 
 1 3 7 8

ACDEFGHIKLMN
 OQRSTVWXY  DENTON
 8 1 2 1 3 7 4 1 3 7 6 


ABCDEFGHIILMNOPQ
 RSTVX 1 3 9 7 7 6 THOMPSI

Plate 41 (a-d). From top to bottom: Lettering from the tombs at Chicheley, Hornby, Hillesden, and Husborne Crawley.

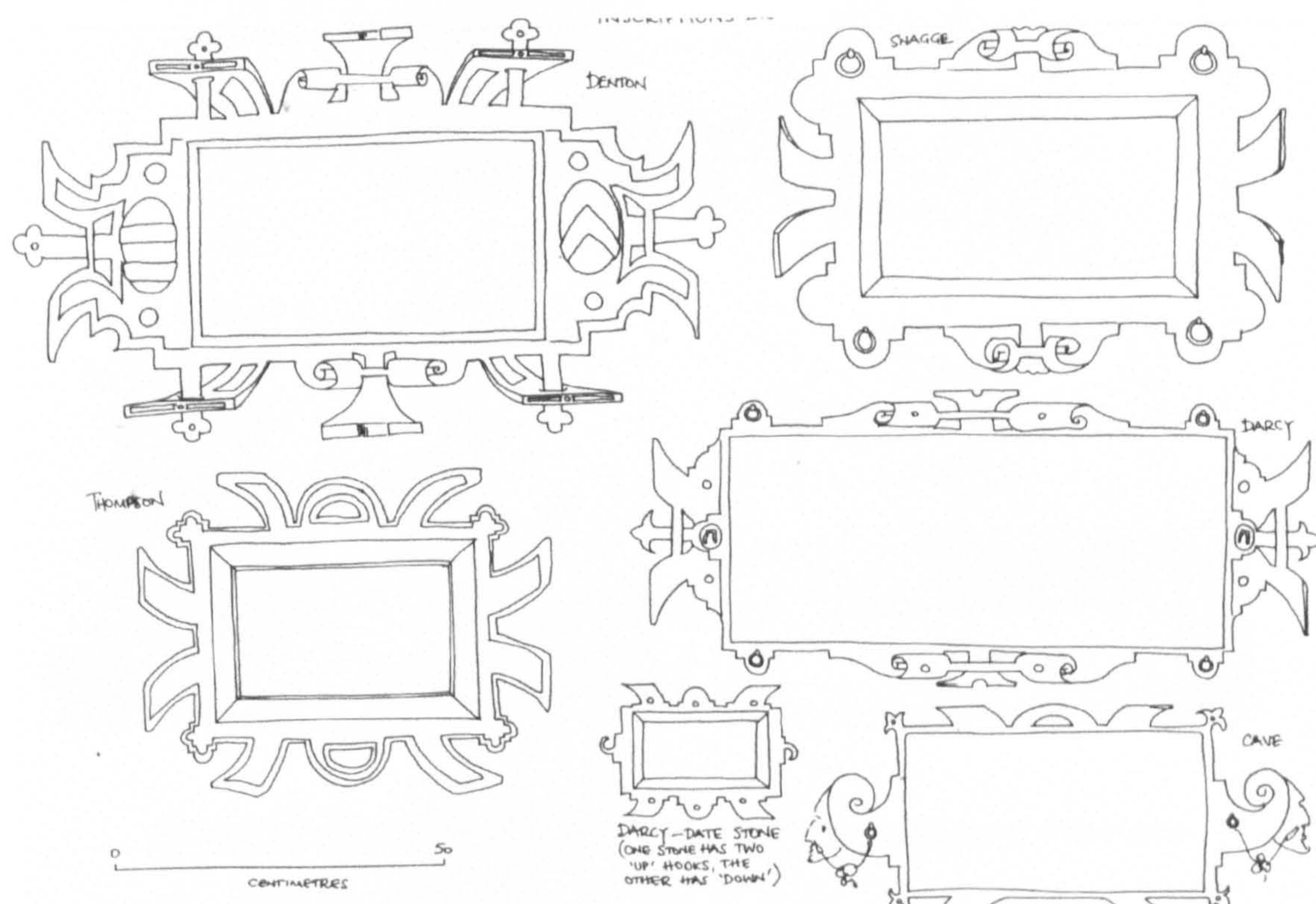


Plate 42. Cartouches, containing inscriptions and dates.

- Top left: Denton monument, Hillesden
- Bottom left: Thomson monument, Husborne Crawley
- Top right: Snagge monument, Marston Moretaine
- Centre right: Darcy monument, Hornby
- Bottom right: Cave monument, Chicheley
- Centre, bottom: Date panel from Hornby



Plate 43. Ceiling and back panel, Snagge monument, Marston Moretaine



Plate 44. Inscription panel, Snagge monument, Marston Moretaine



Plate 45. The Knightley monument, Fawsley, Northamptonshire



Plate 46. Putto, tomb of Elizabeth Conyers, Hornby, Yorkshire



Plate 47. Chained eagle with fruit, upper sarcophagus, Hornby monument

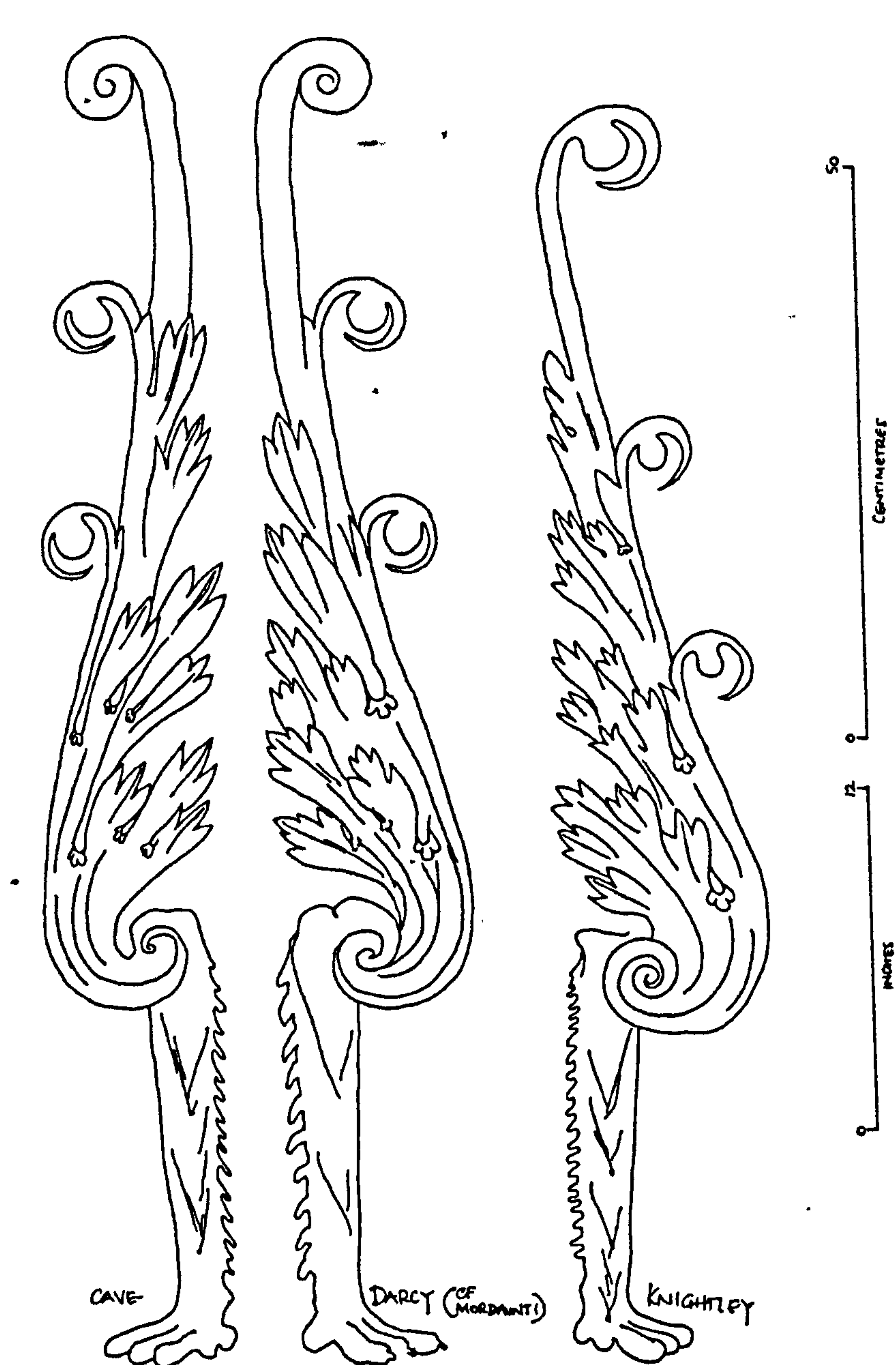


Plate 48. Cabriole legs, left to right: (a) Cave monument, Chicheley, (b) Conyers/Darcy monument, Hornby, (c) Knightley monument, Fawsley.

The damaged cabriole on the west face of the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt at Turvey is similar to (d).



Plate 49. Sarcophagus, Dormer monument, Wing, Buckinghamshire



Plate 50: Pedestals, Dormer tomb

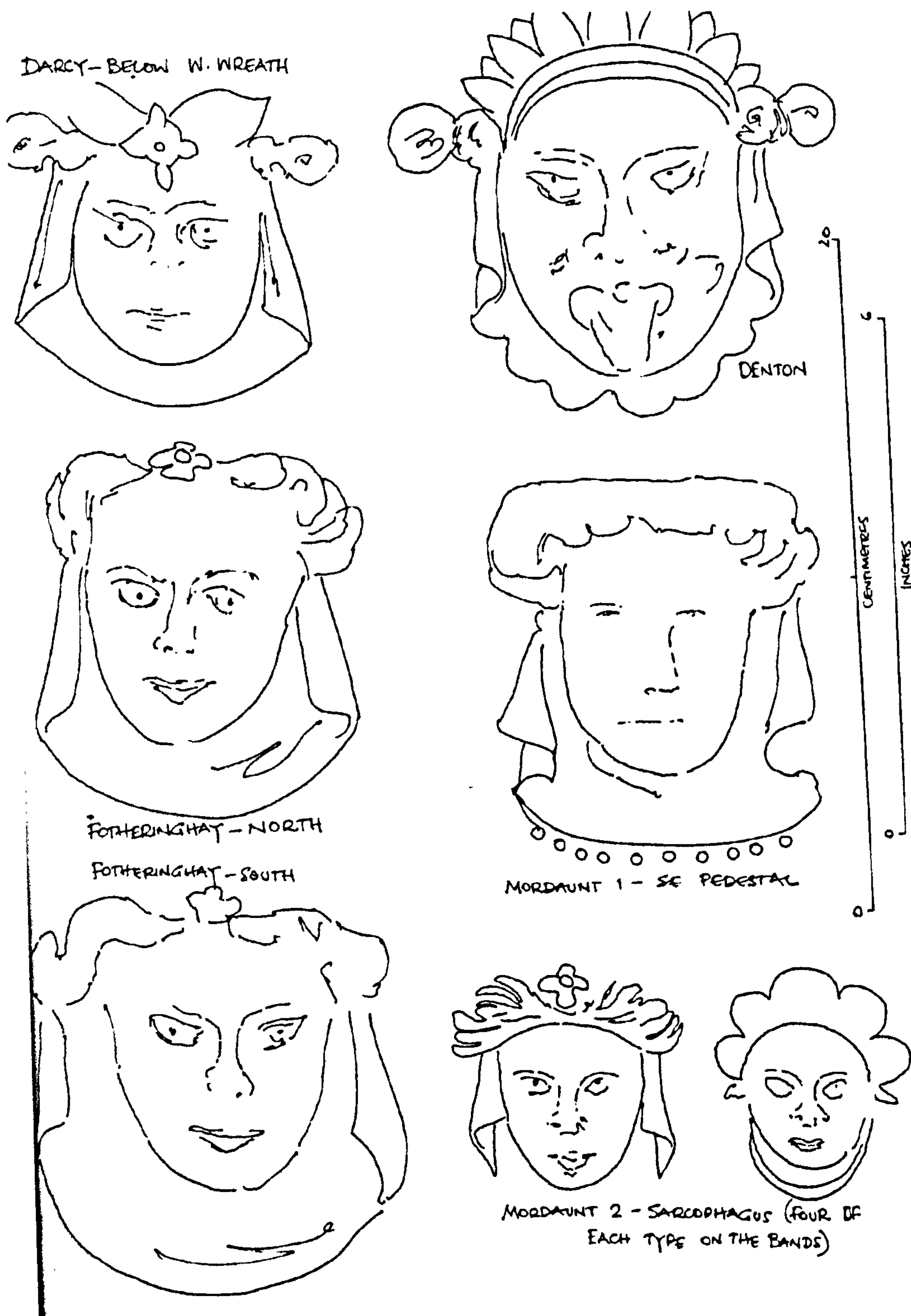


Plate 51. Tracings of heads. Top left, Hornby. Top right, Hillesden. Centre left and bottom left, Fotheringhay. Centre right, tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey. Pair of heads bottom right, tomb of the second lord Mordaunt, Turvey.

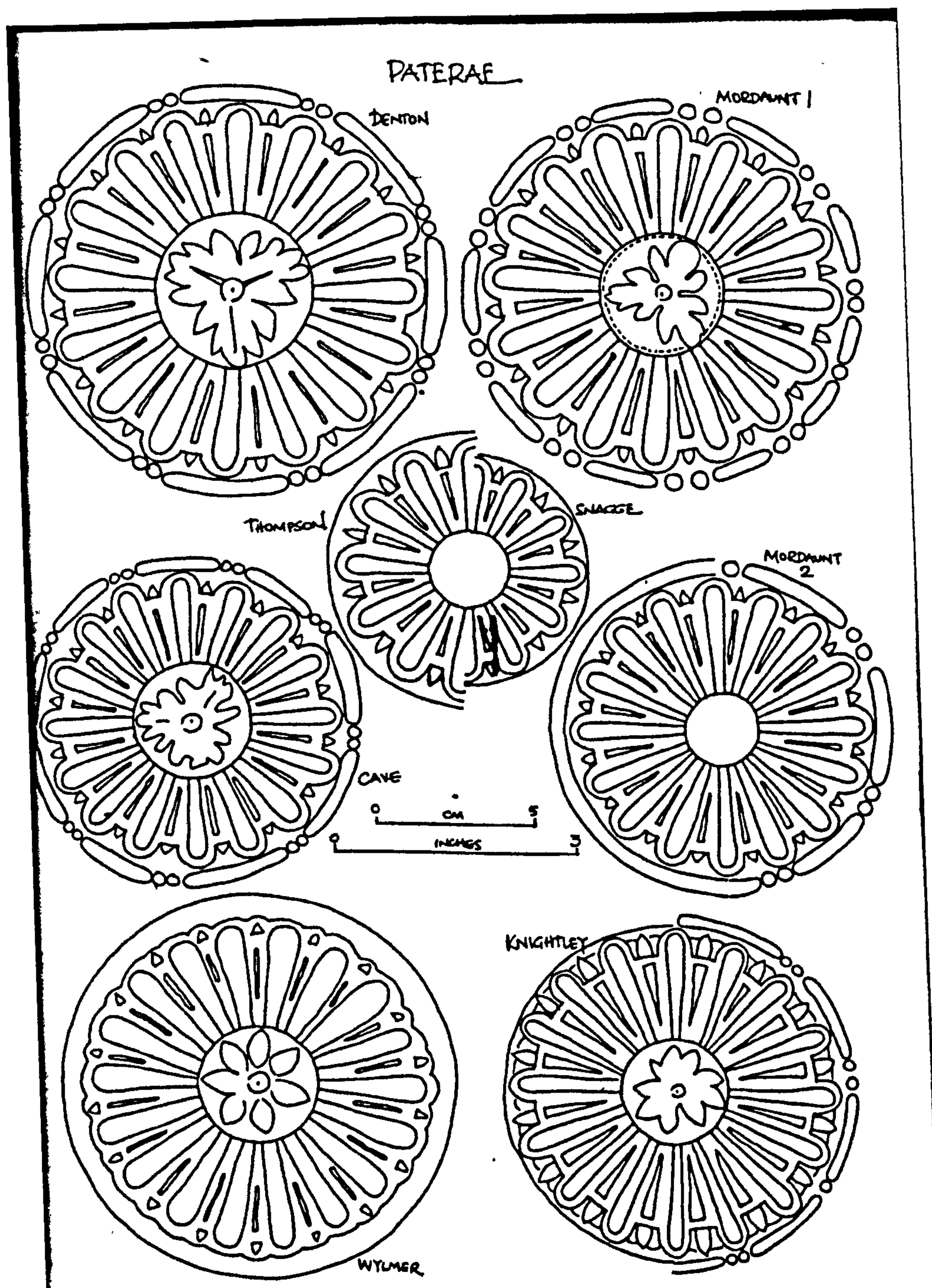
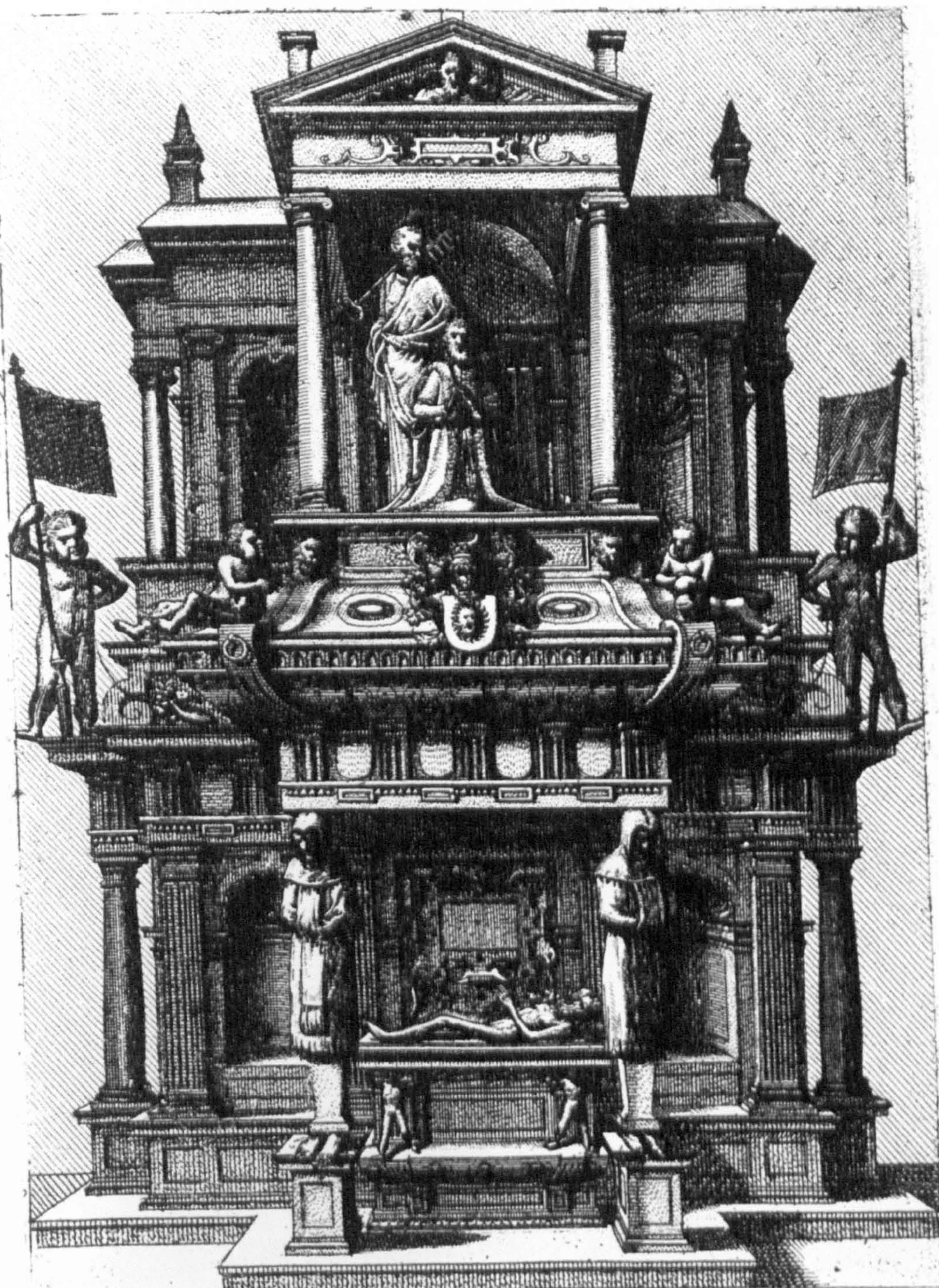


Plate 52. Tracings of paterae. Top left, Hillesden. Top right, first lord Mordaunt, Turvey. Centre left, Chicheley. Centre right, second lord Mordaunt, Turvey. Bottom left, Wylmer tomb, Staverton, Northamptonshire. Bottom right, Fawsley. Upper centre, split between Husborne Crawley and Marston Moretaine.



Hoc erudito cesserit bustum uiro,
Sine ille legum interpres, aut fuerit eis
Patrocinatus, aut habenas publicae
Rei tenuerit, aut fidei principes

Sanoque consilio irrepressus iuuerit: S. 4
Sive arte medica tulerit aegrotis opem:
Multiplici seu praeditus scientia
Decus perenne seculo addiderit suo.

Plate 53. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

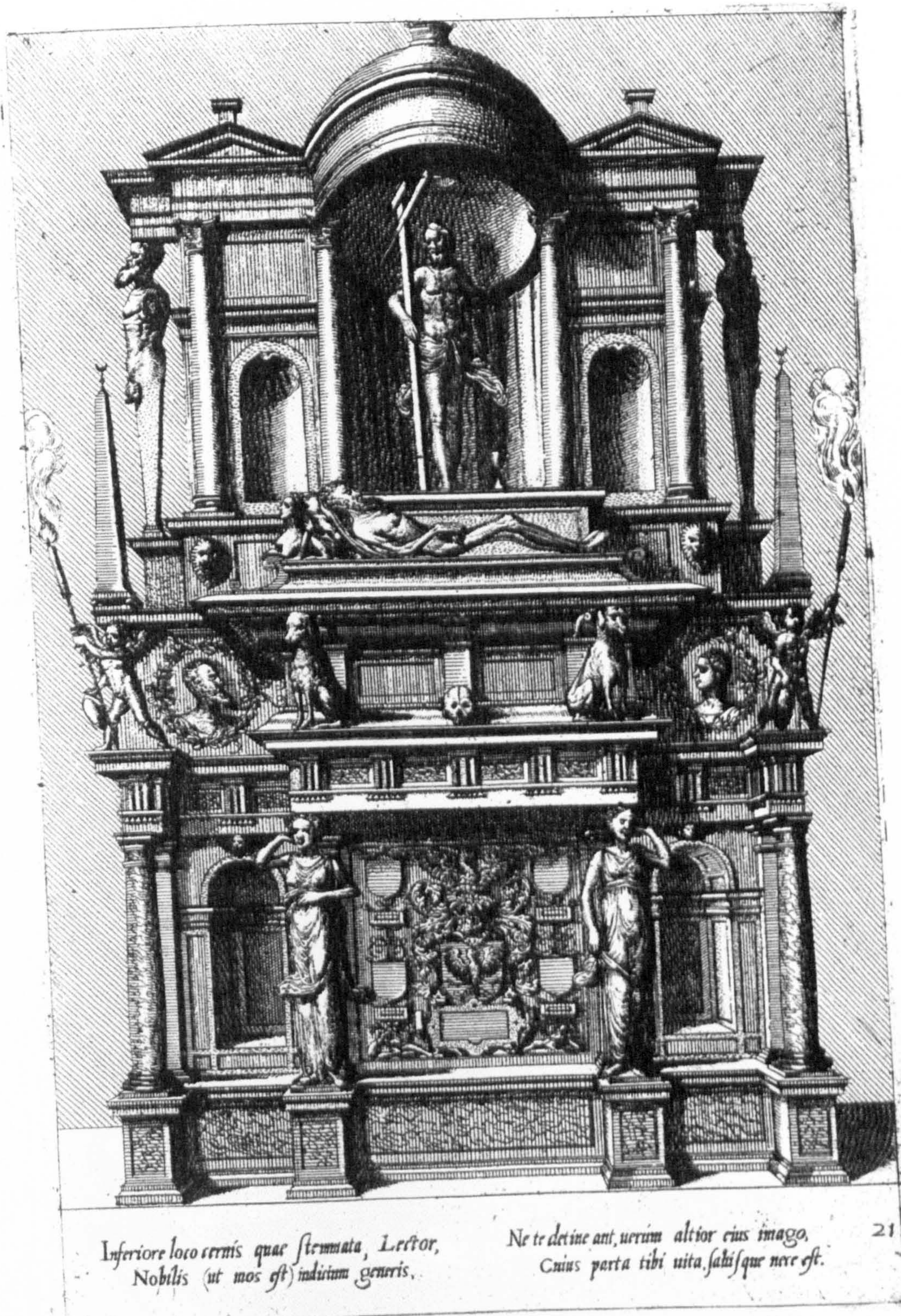
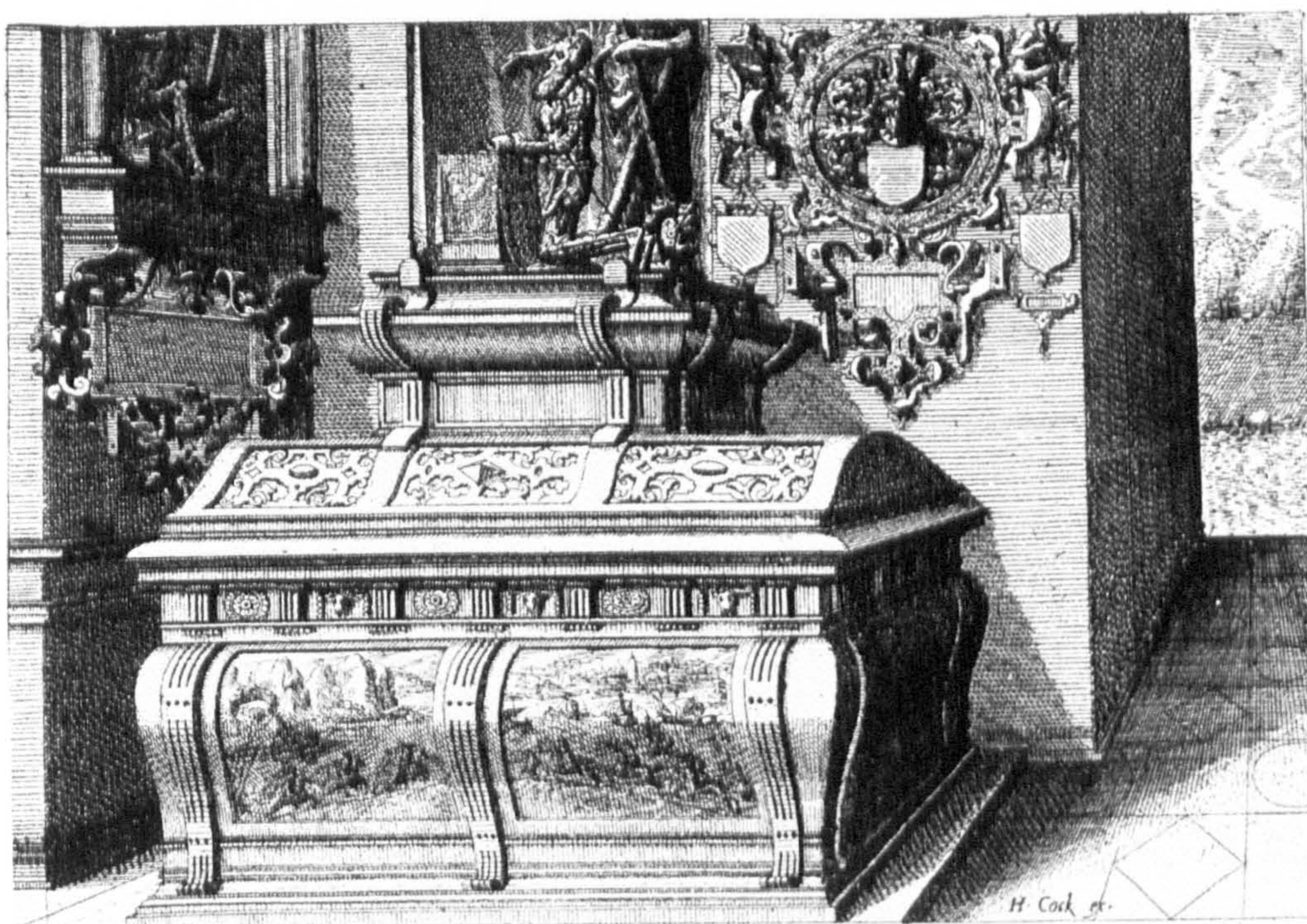


Plate 54. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

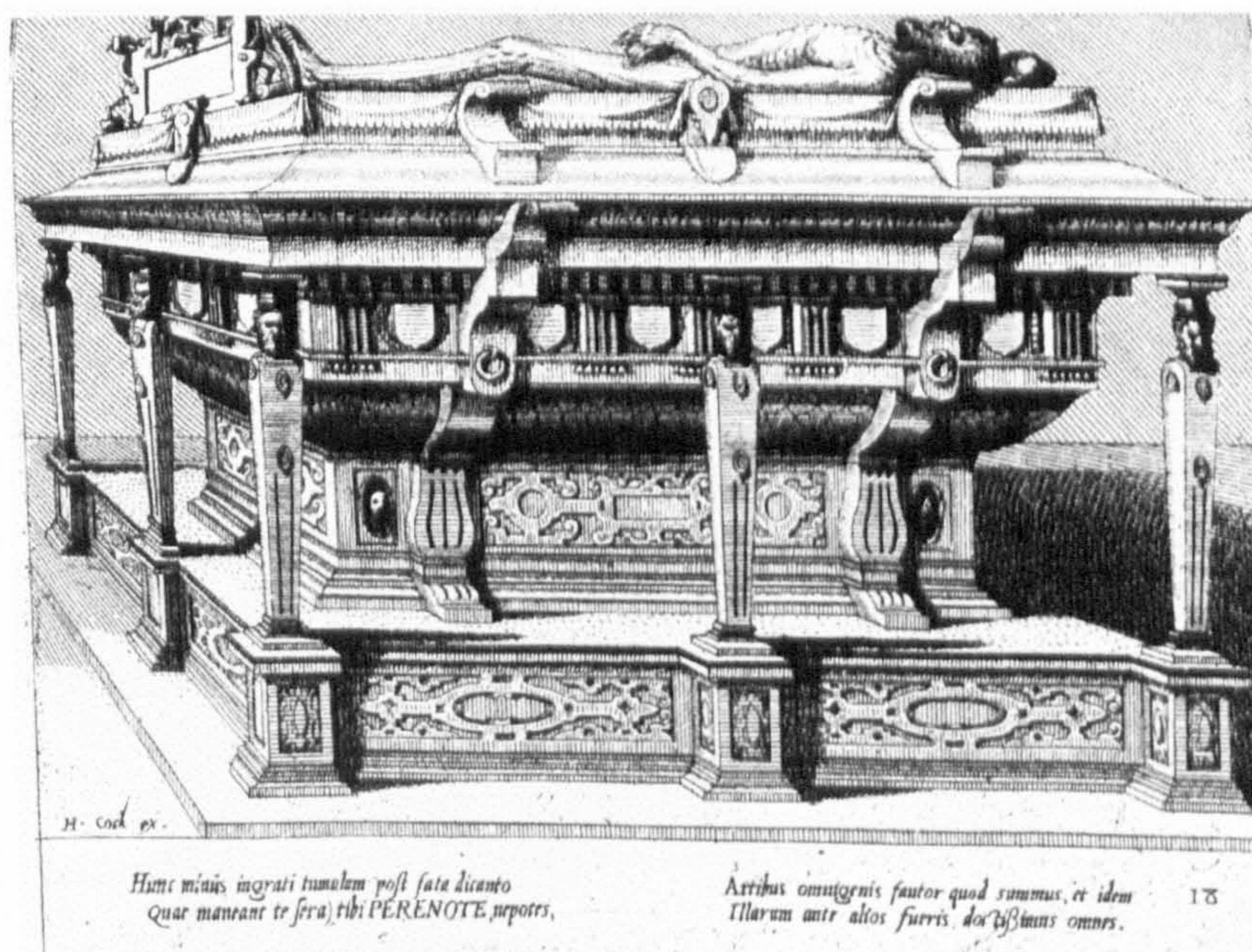


Fallor: an artificis mens haec fuit, ut tibi bustum
Cederet hoc, domitor DORIA magne maris?

Fallar; id Andreas nisi stans post terga preantis,
Sculptaque marmoribus strenua facta docent.

ii

Plate 55. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

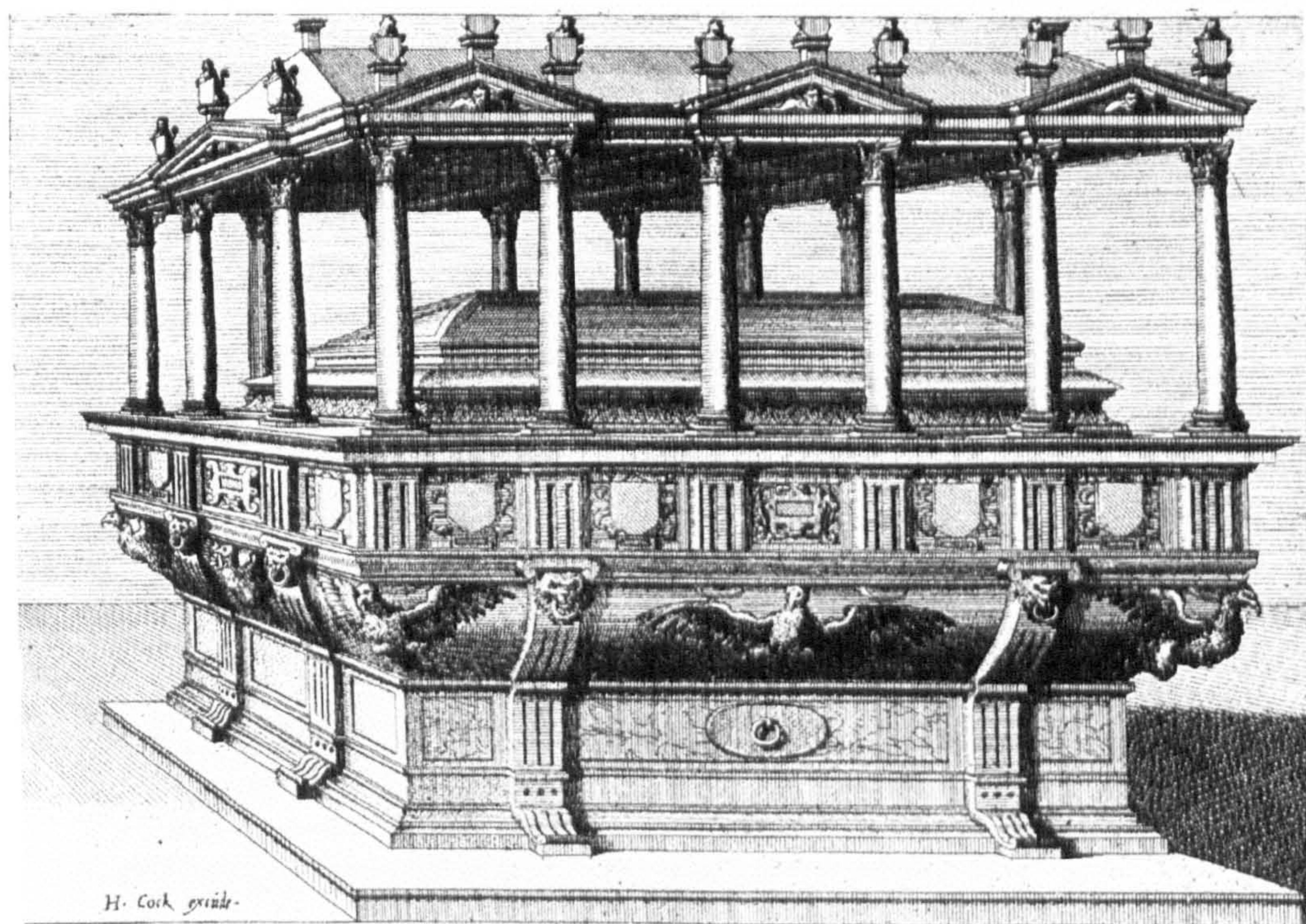


Hunc minus ingrati tumulum post fata dicanto
Quae maneant te sera, tibi PERENOTE, nepotes,

Artibus omni generis fautor quod summus, et idem
Illarum ante alios furris, doctissimus omnes.

18

Plate 56. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563



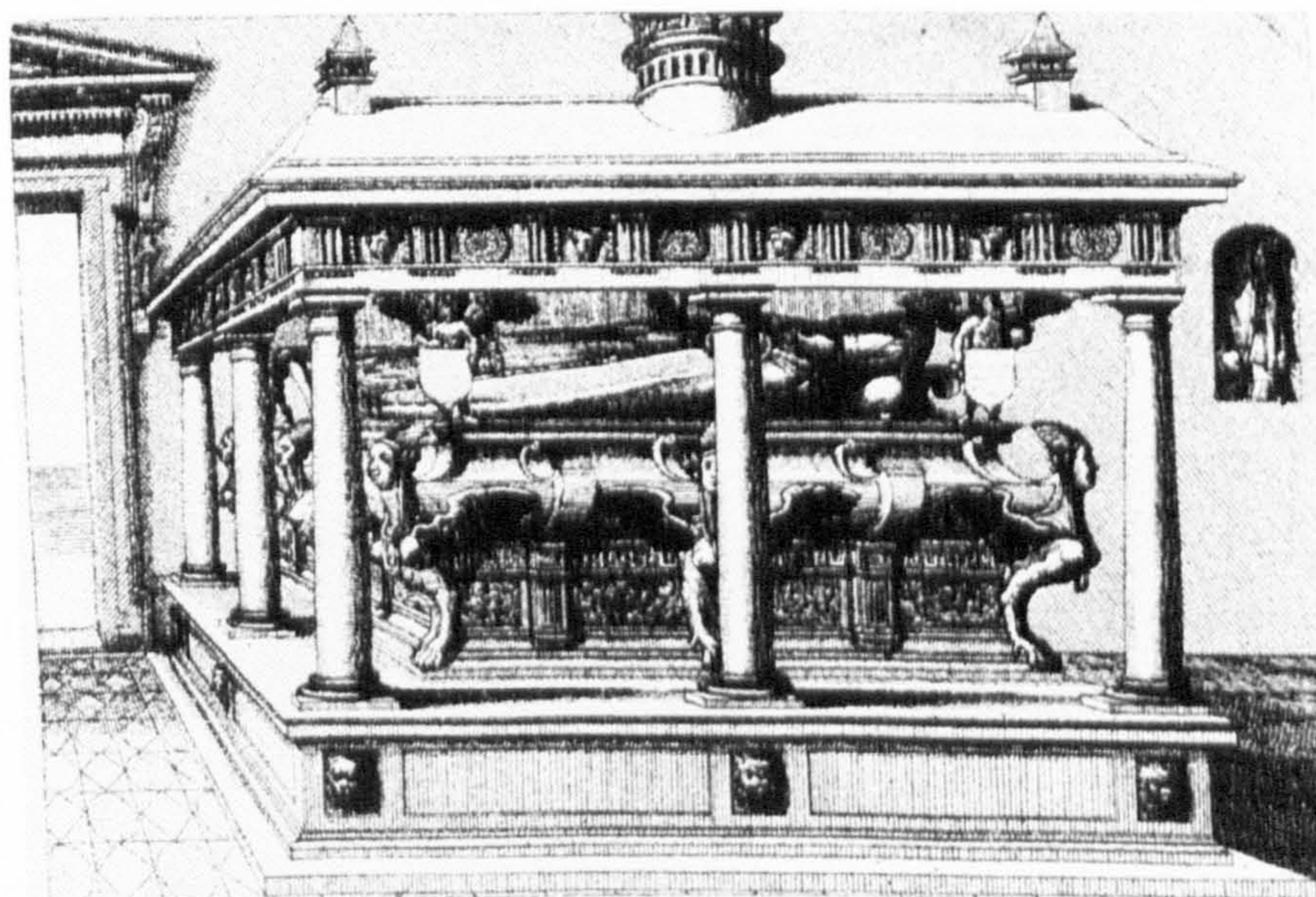
H. Cock excudit.

Victoribus aquilae signa addita Mausoleo
Nos memores faciunt CAROLE QVINTE, tui.

Sed magis, heu, quod te caret orbis principe, qualem
Nulla prius dederant secula, nulla dabunt.

3

Plate 57. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563



Cum hoc sepulcrum Anthoni Varensum
GEORGIO SELNAE, iutor, deditur

Rogas: hic unus hoc maligno seculo
Pietate prius par episcopus fuit

12

Plate 58. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

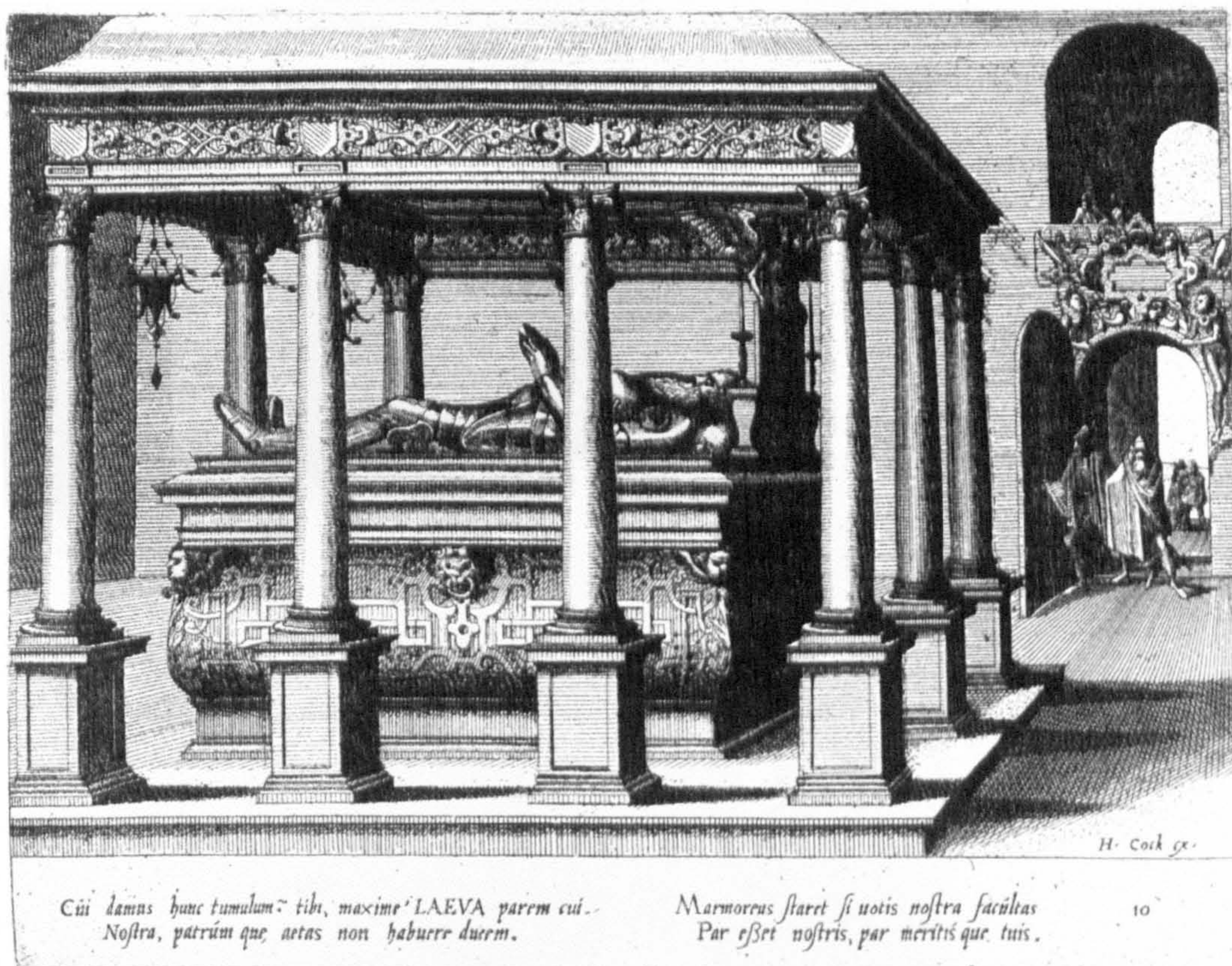


Plate 59. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

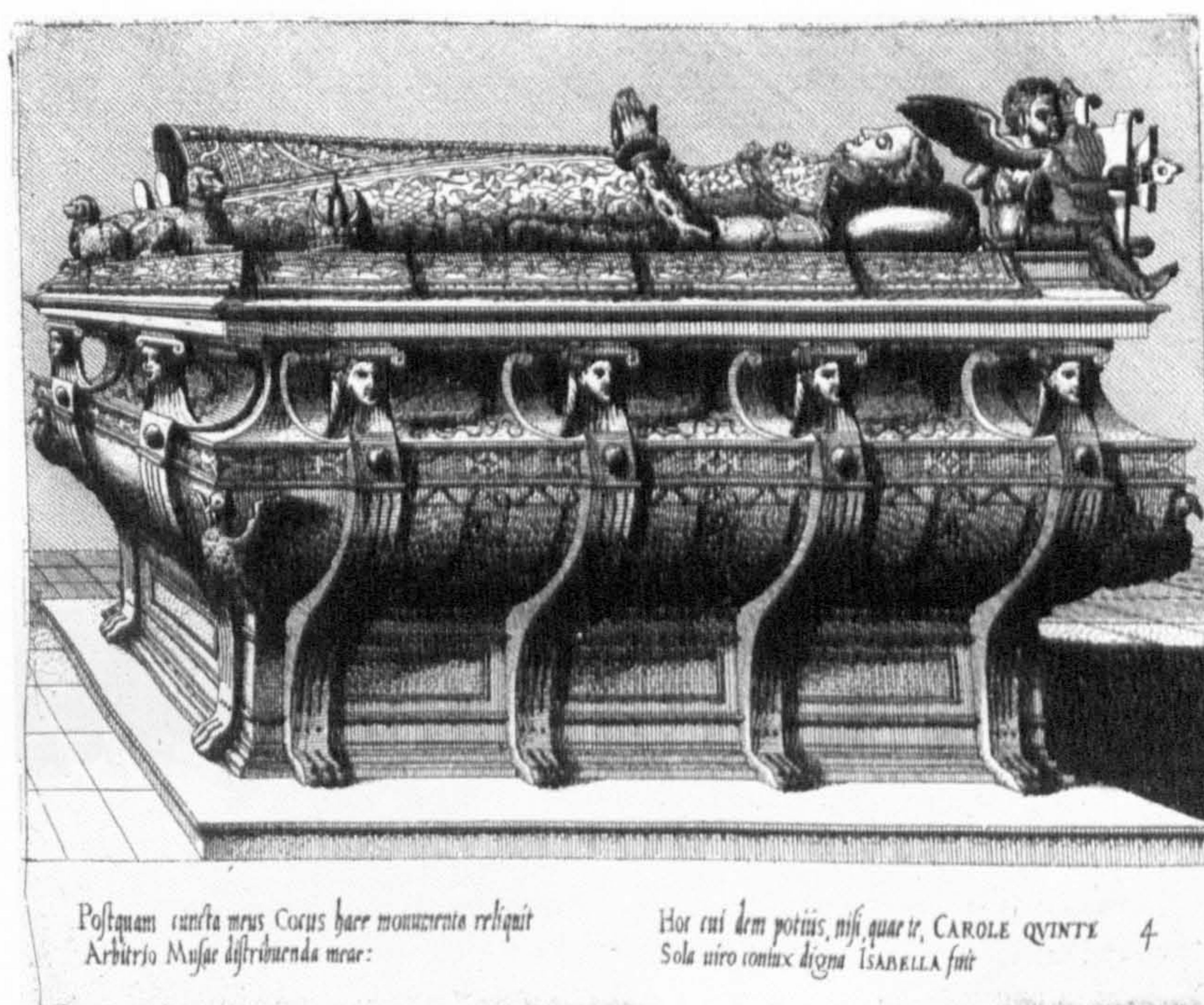


Plate 60. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

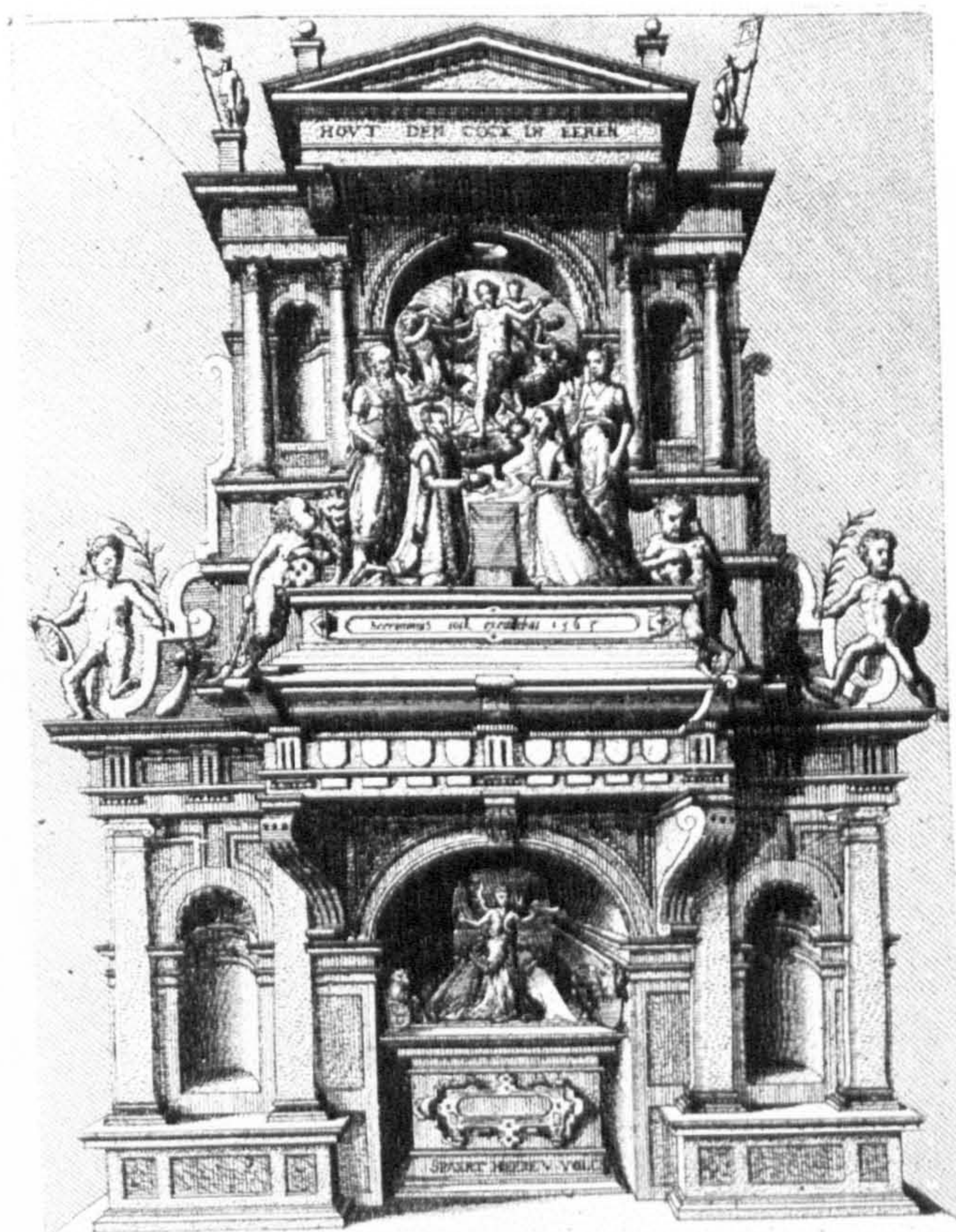


Plate 61. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

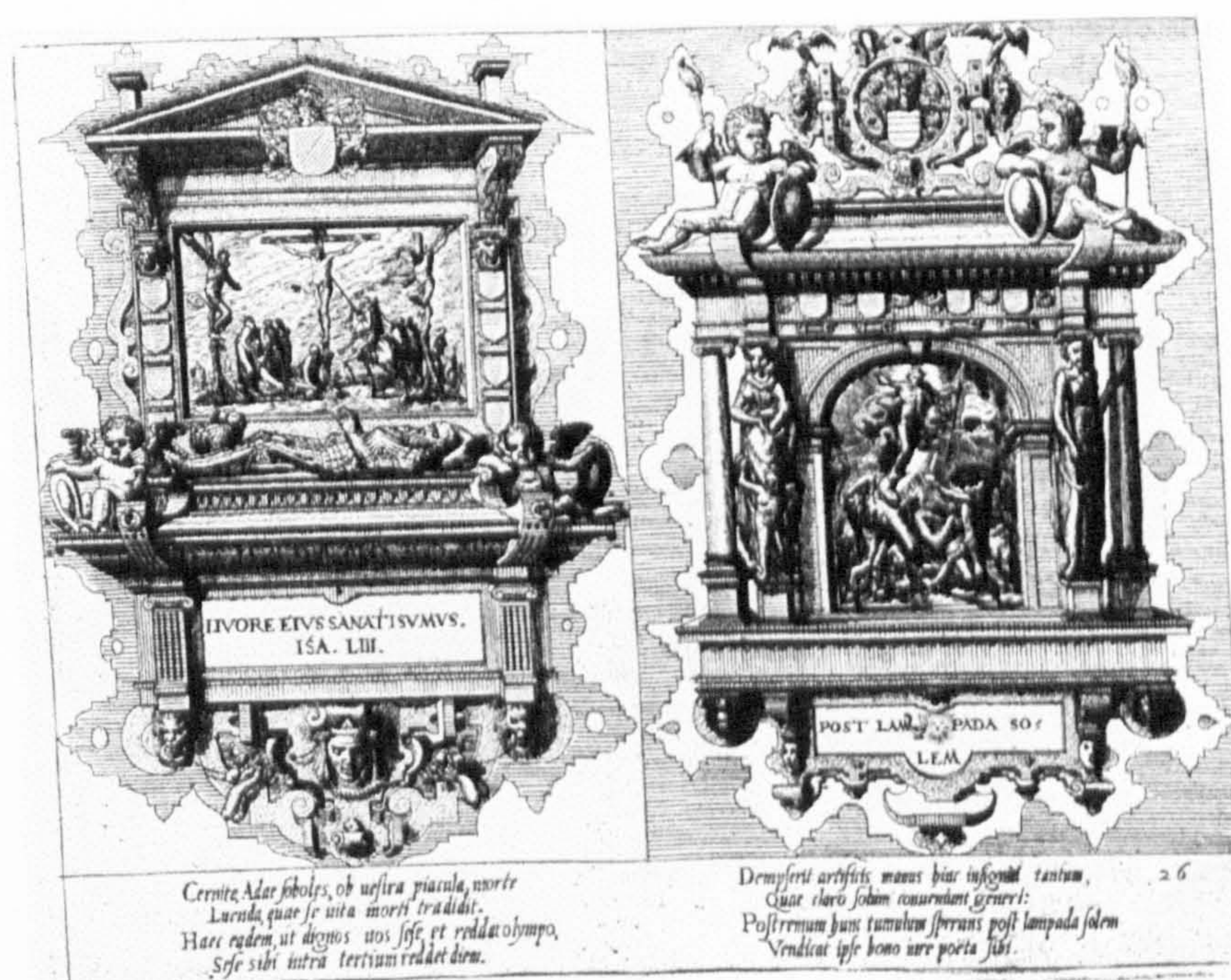


Plate 62. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

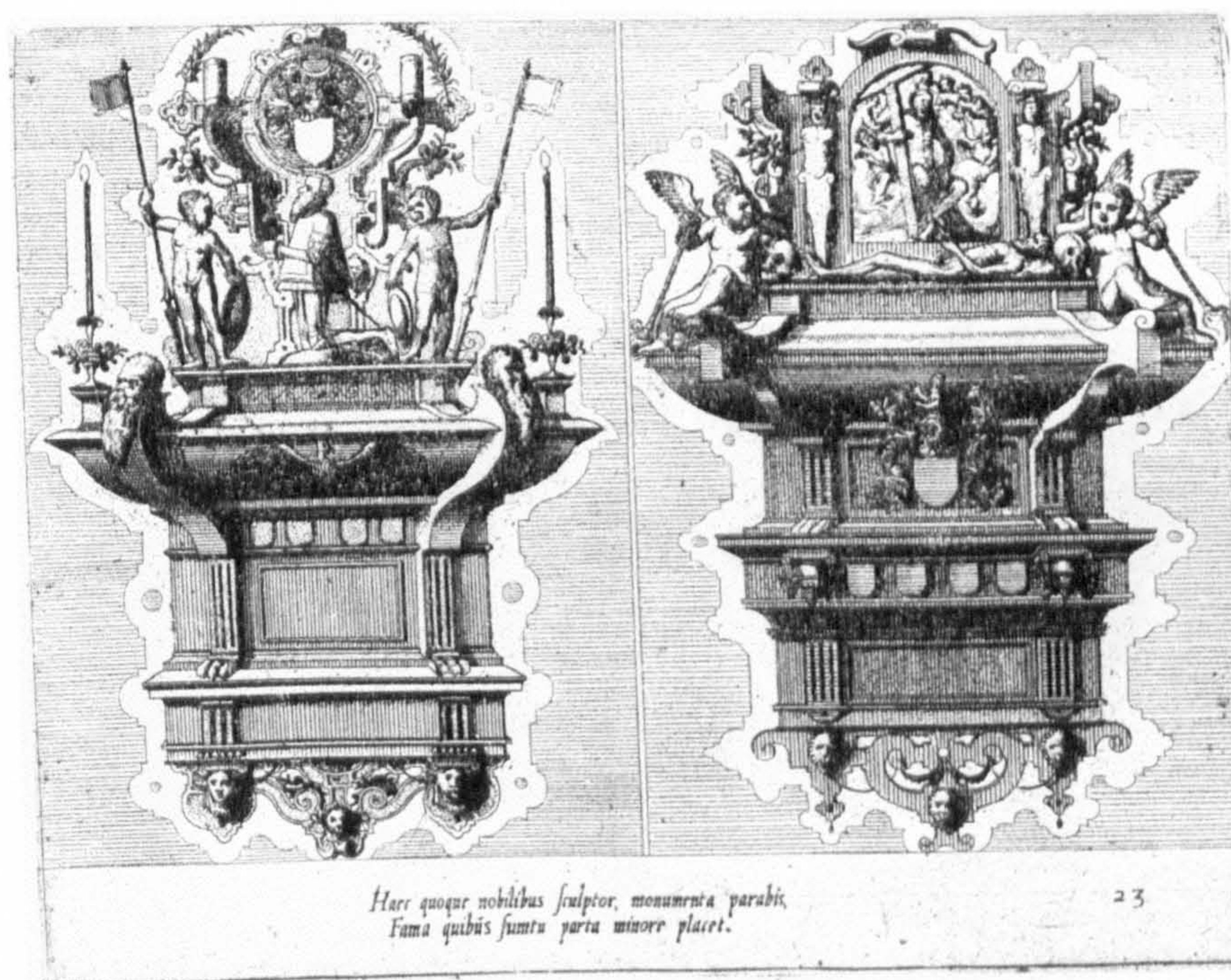


Plate 63. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

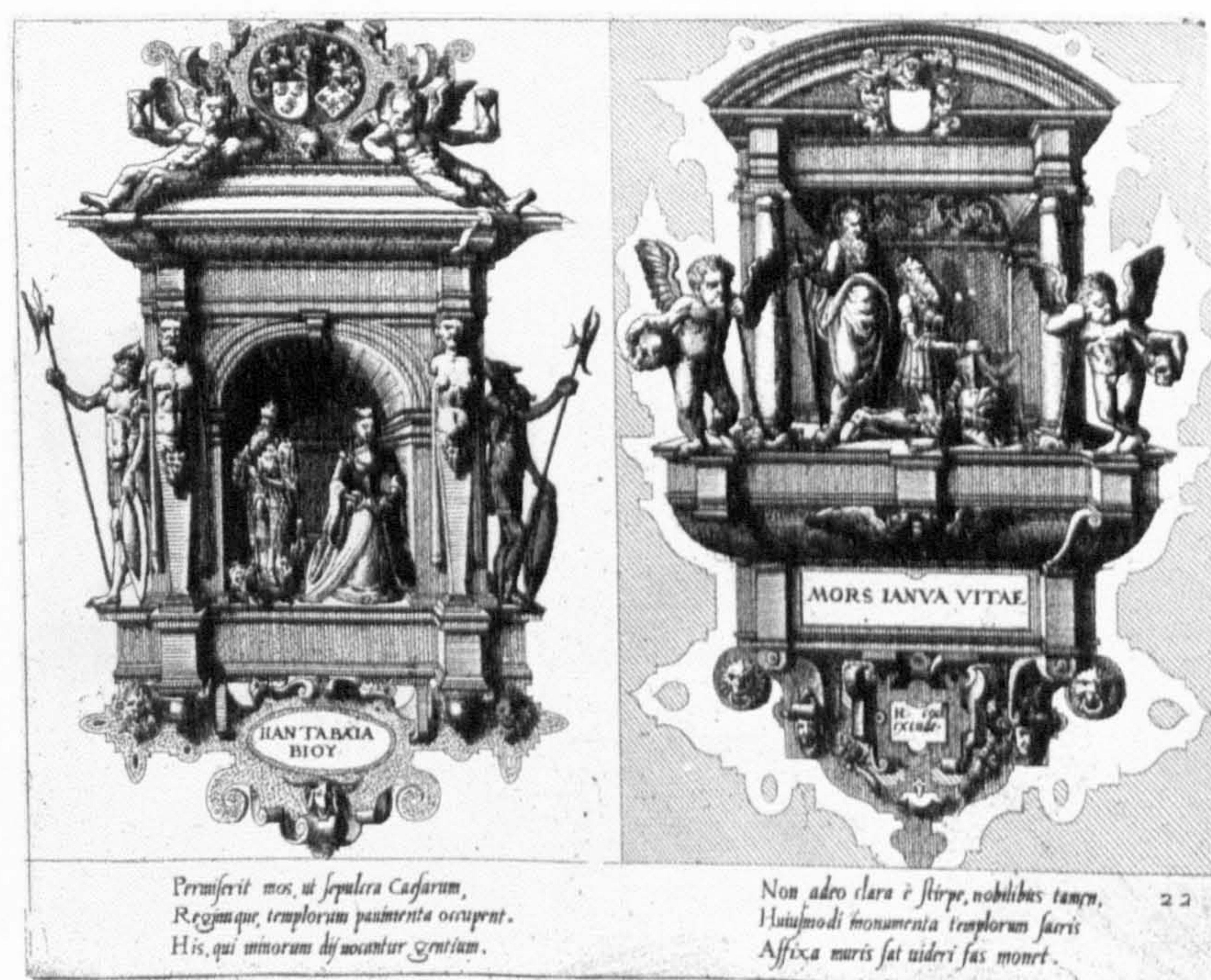


Plate 64. From Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

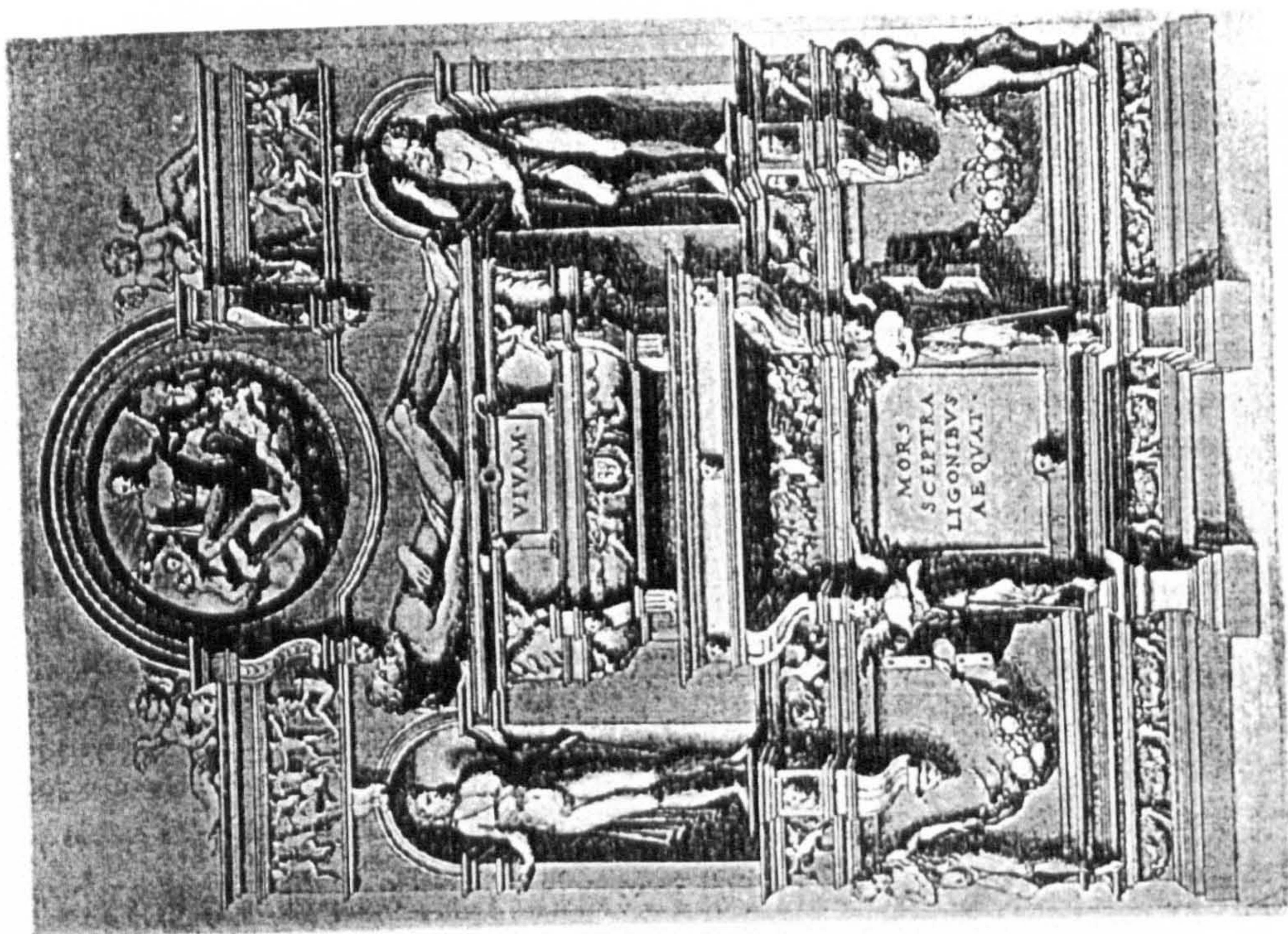


Plate 65. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

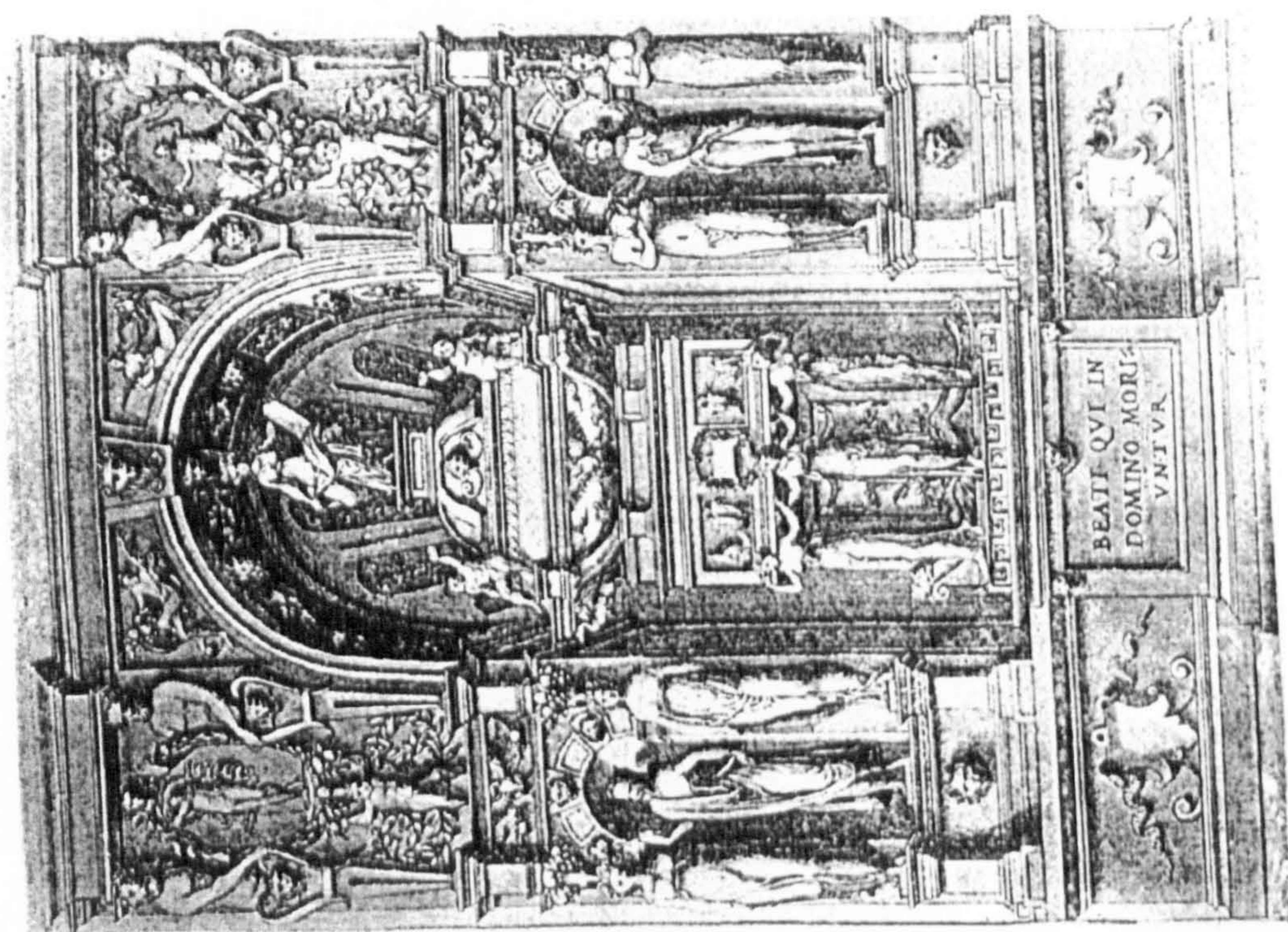


Plate 66. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

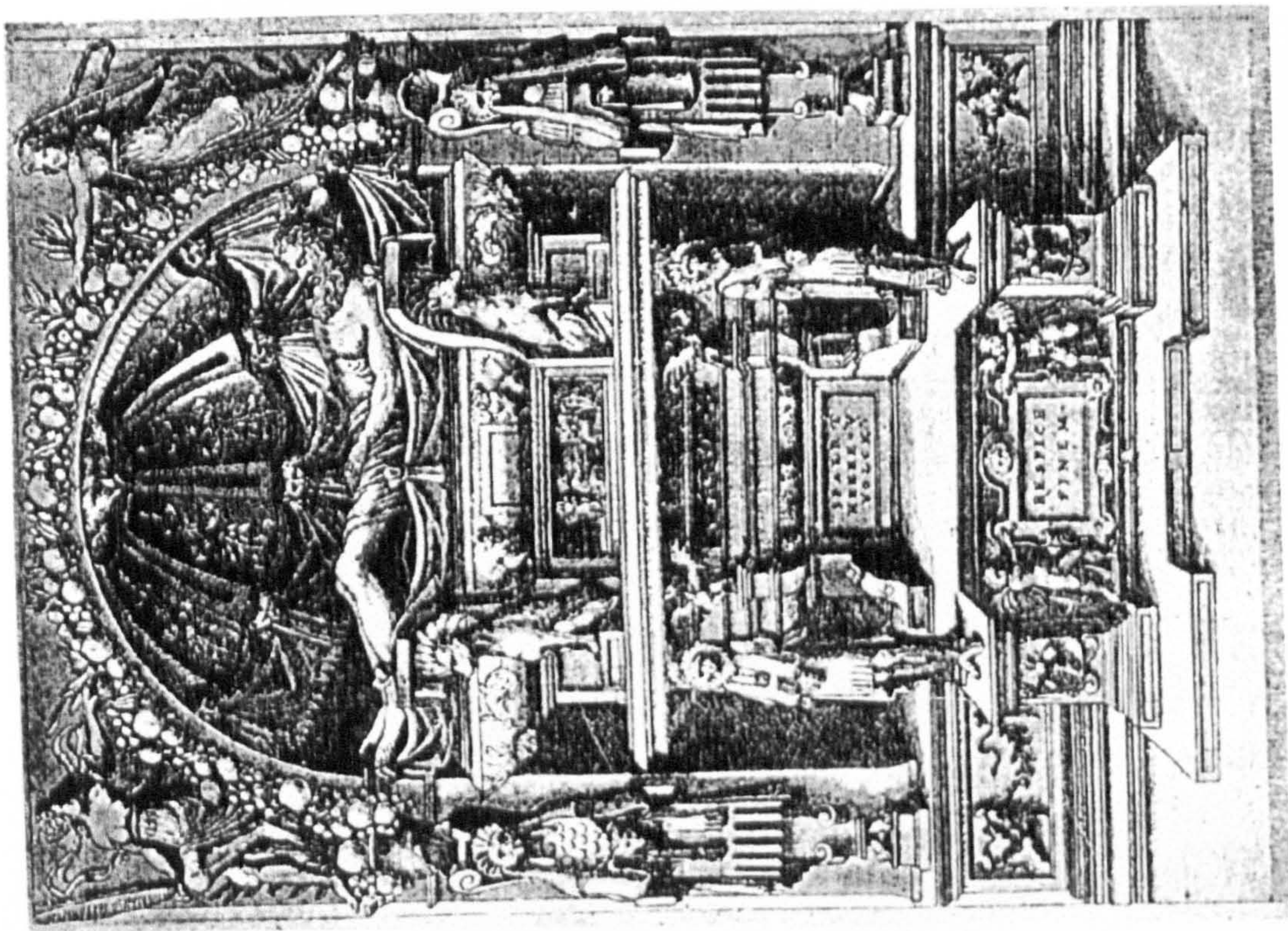


Plate 67. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

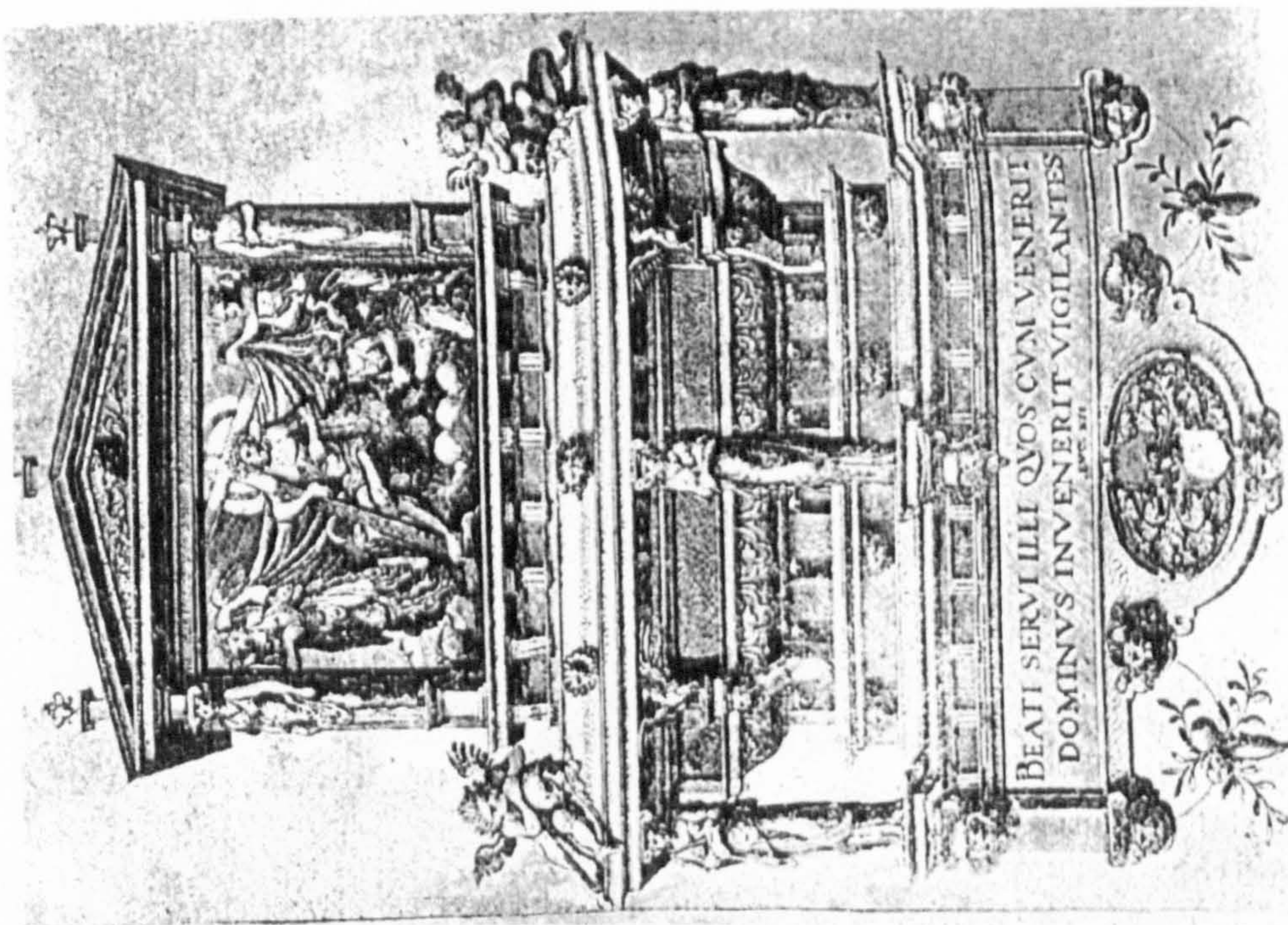


Plate 68. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

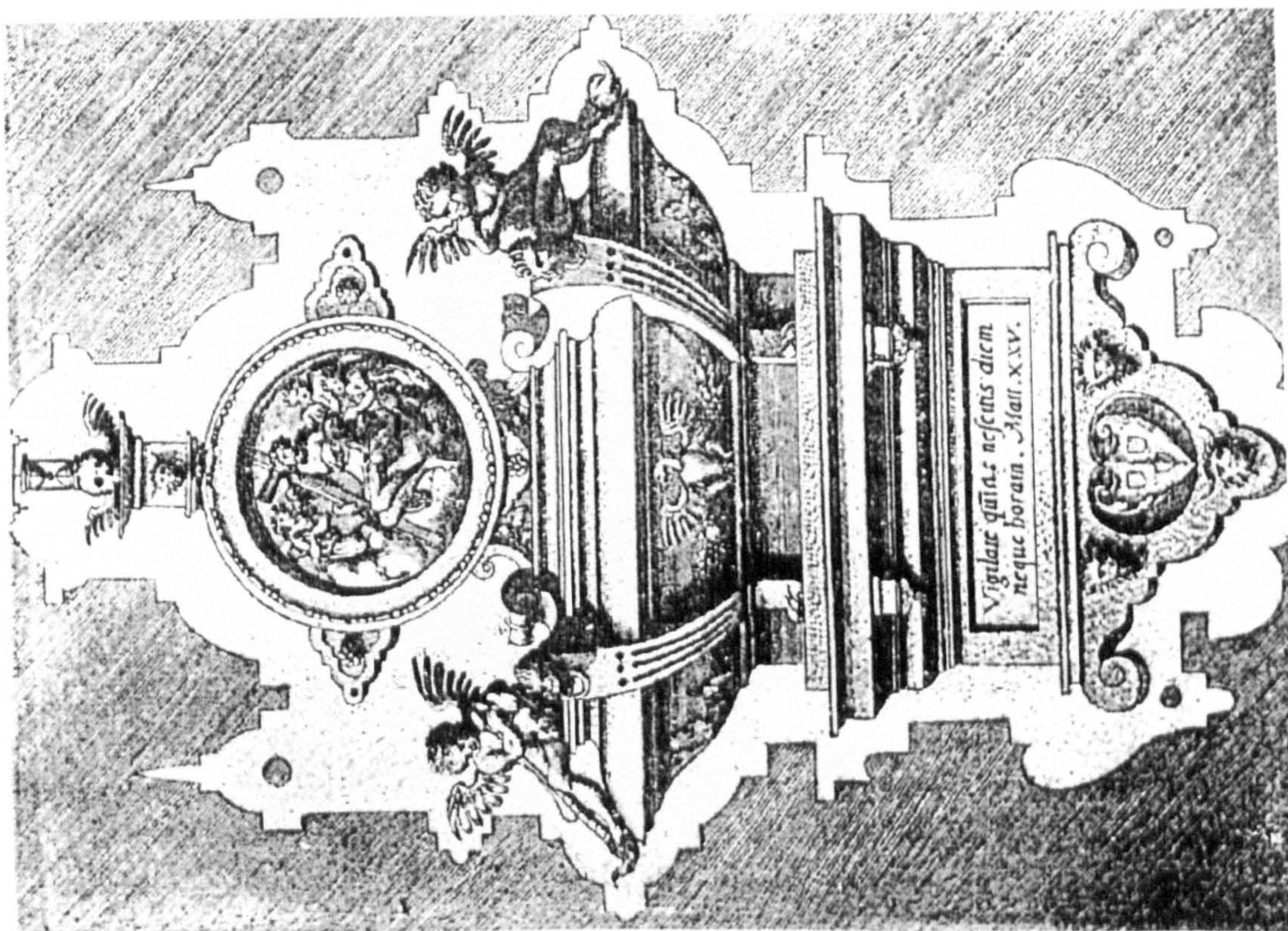


Plate 69. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

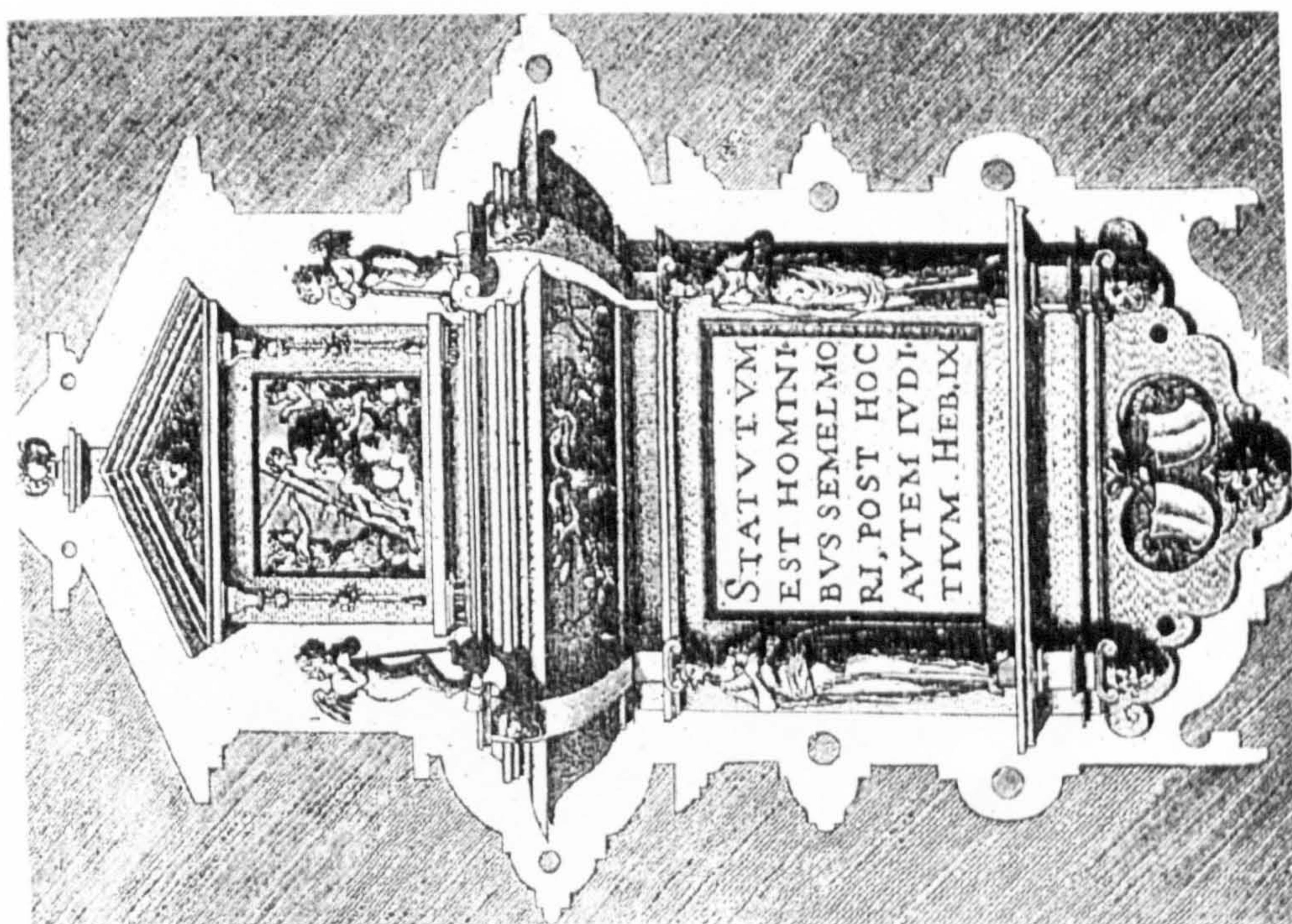


Plate 70. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

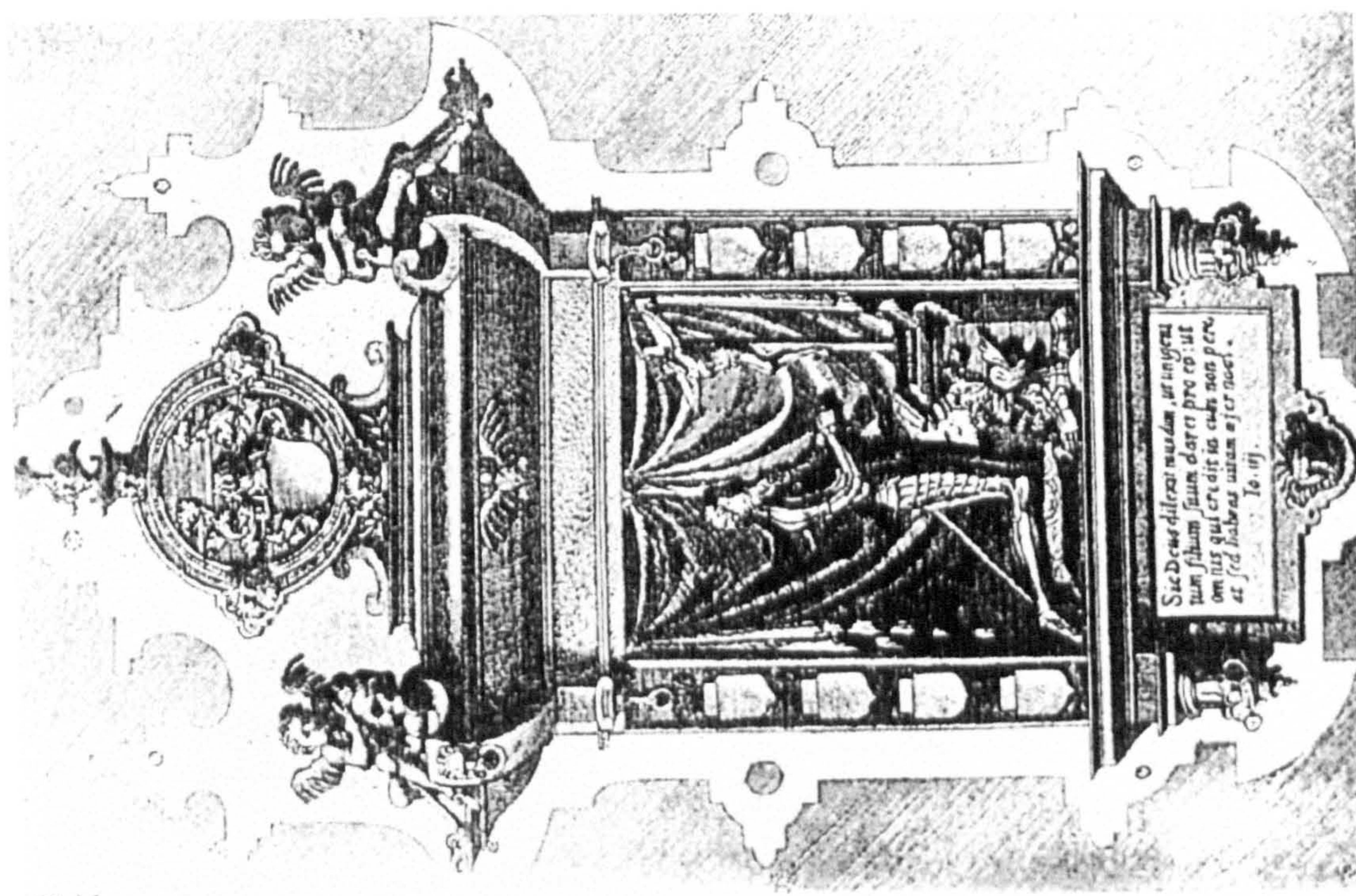


Plate 71. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

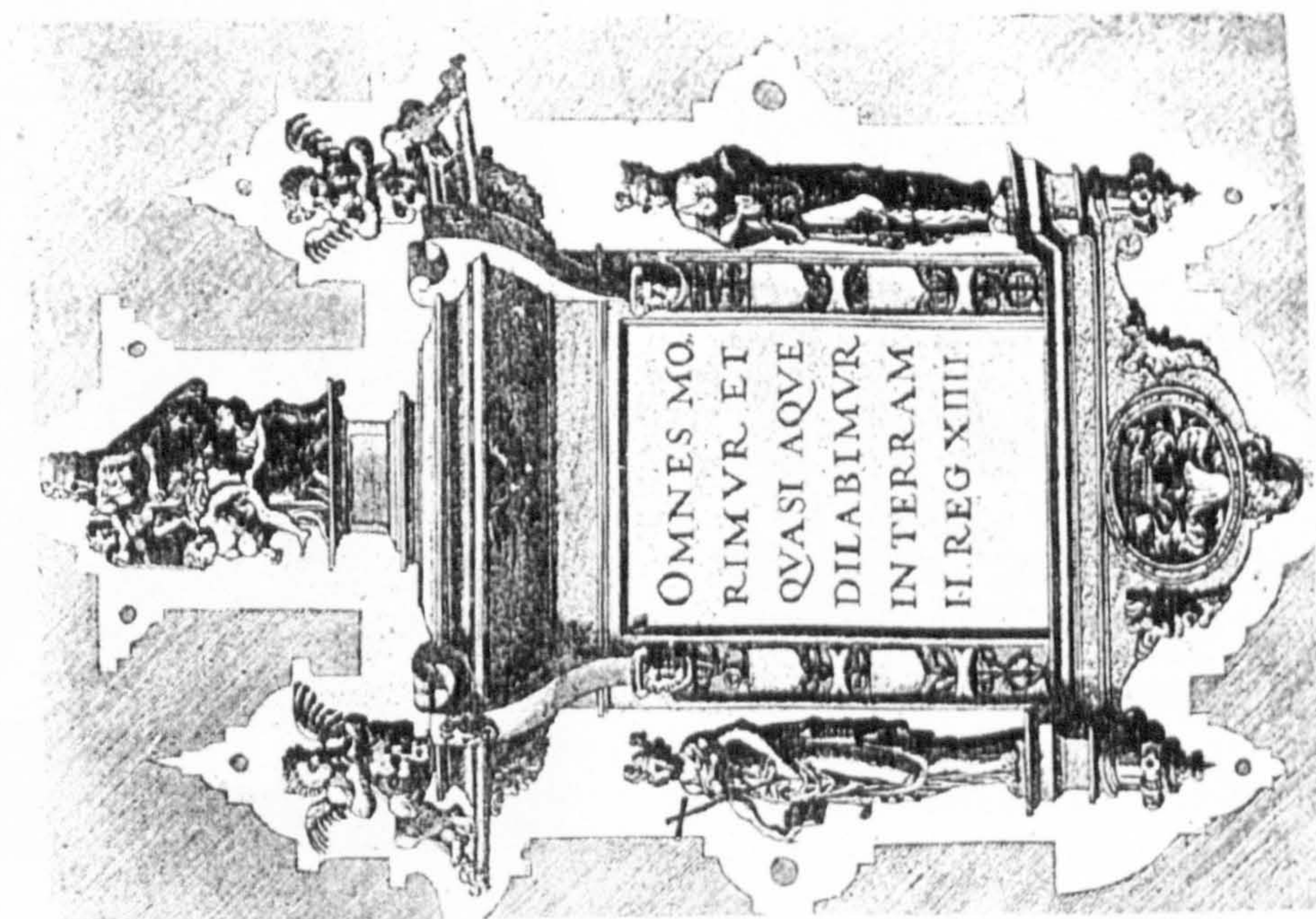
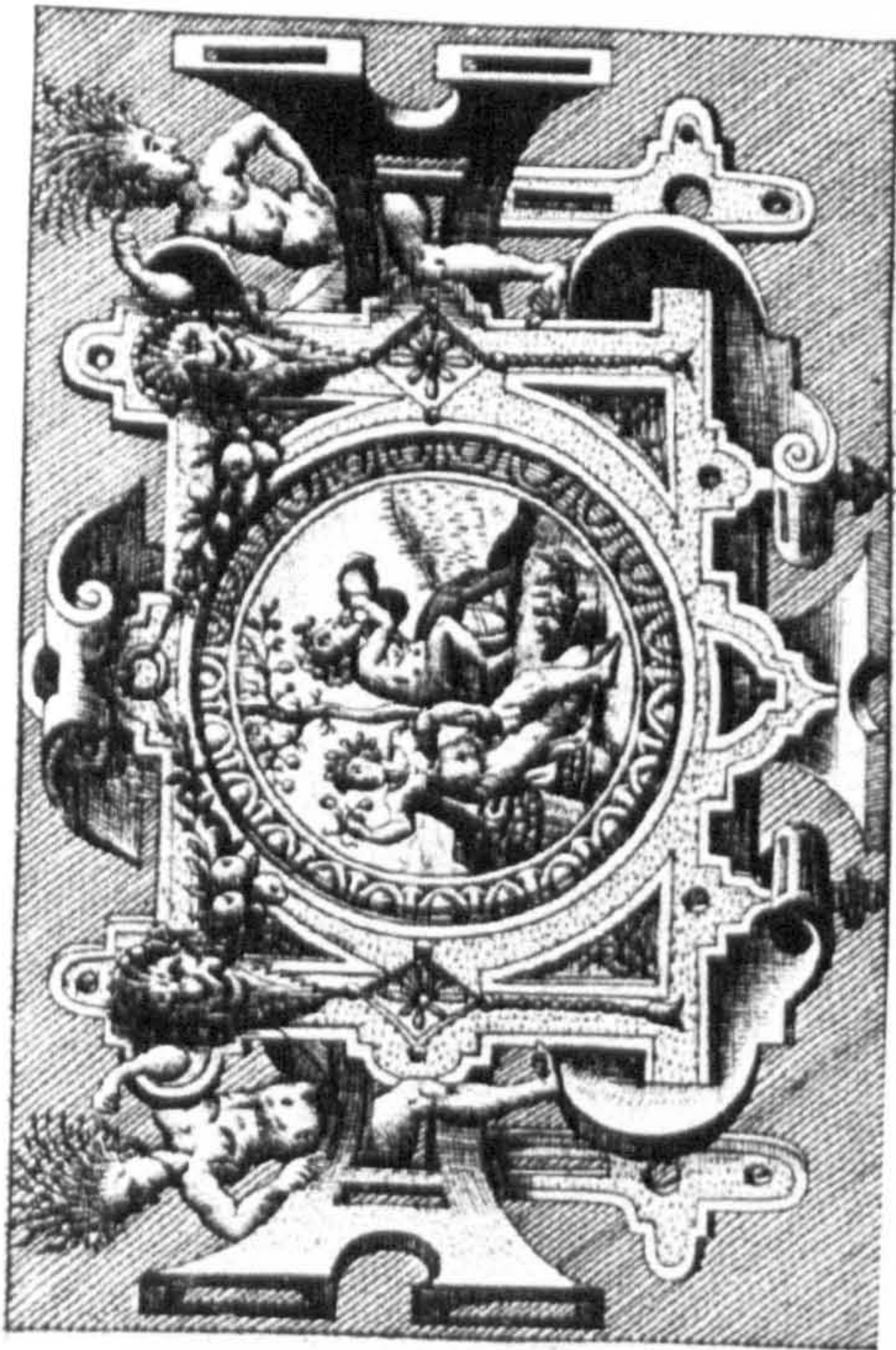
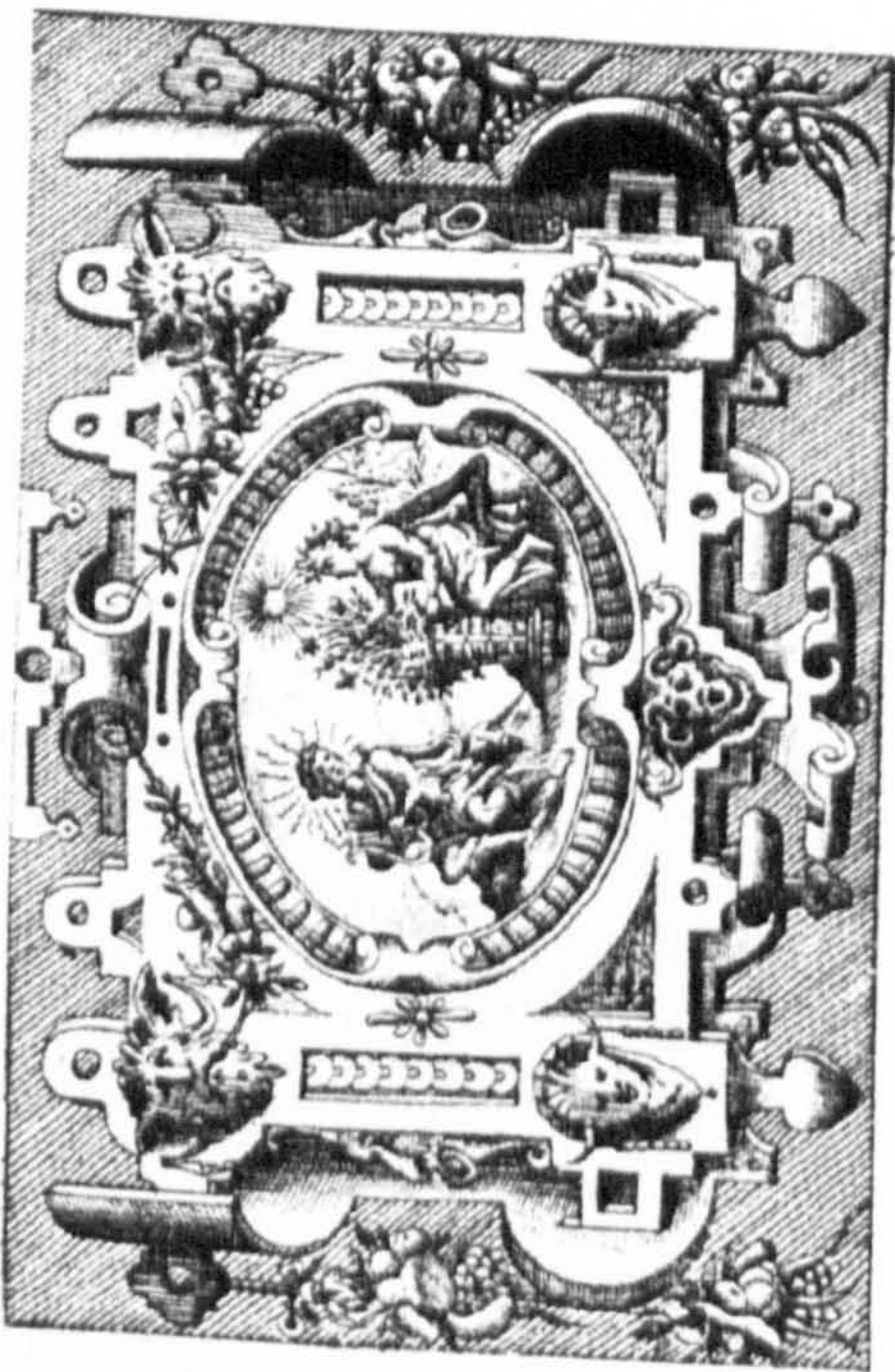
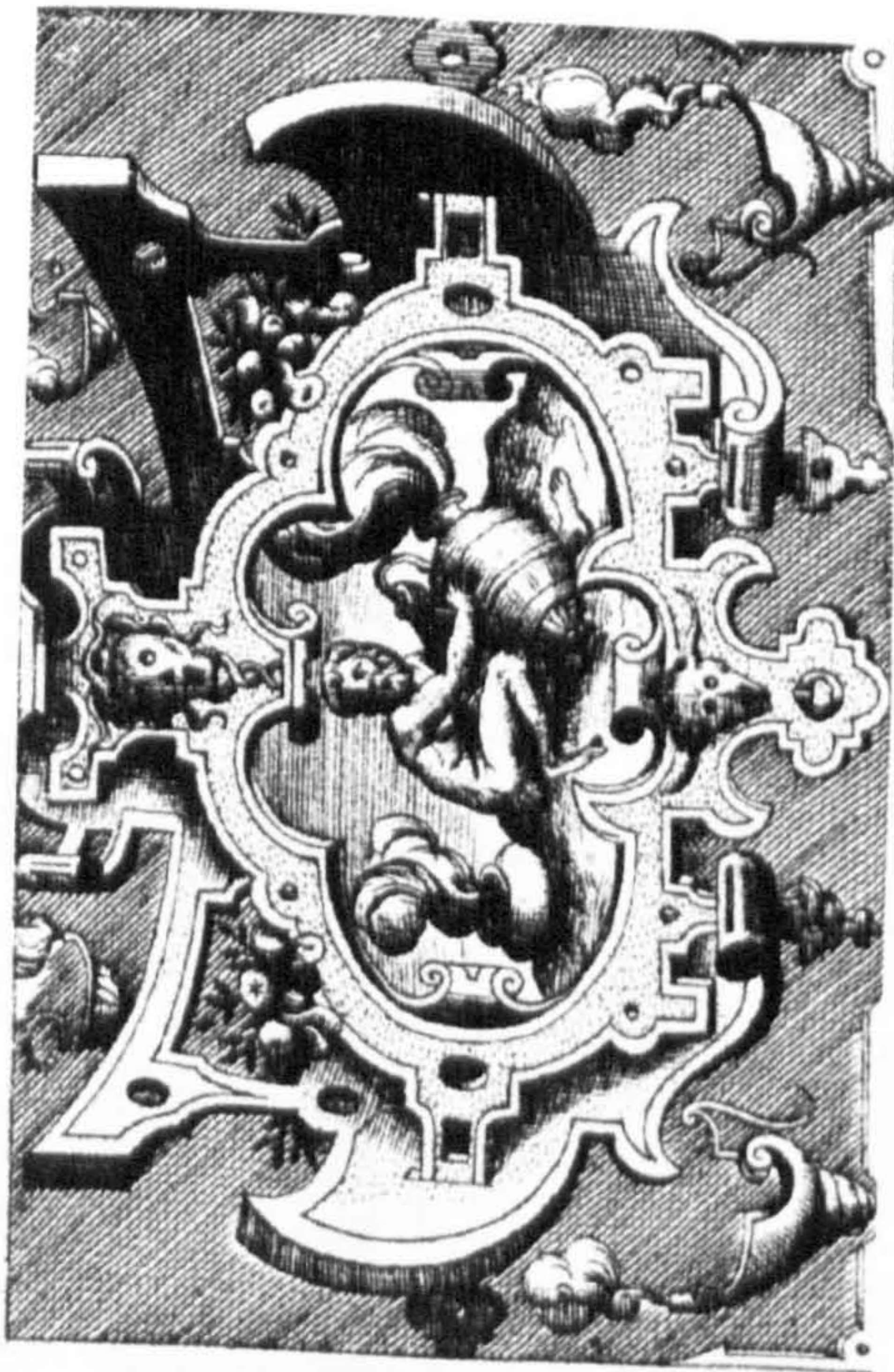
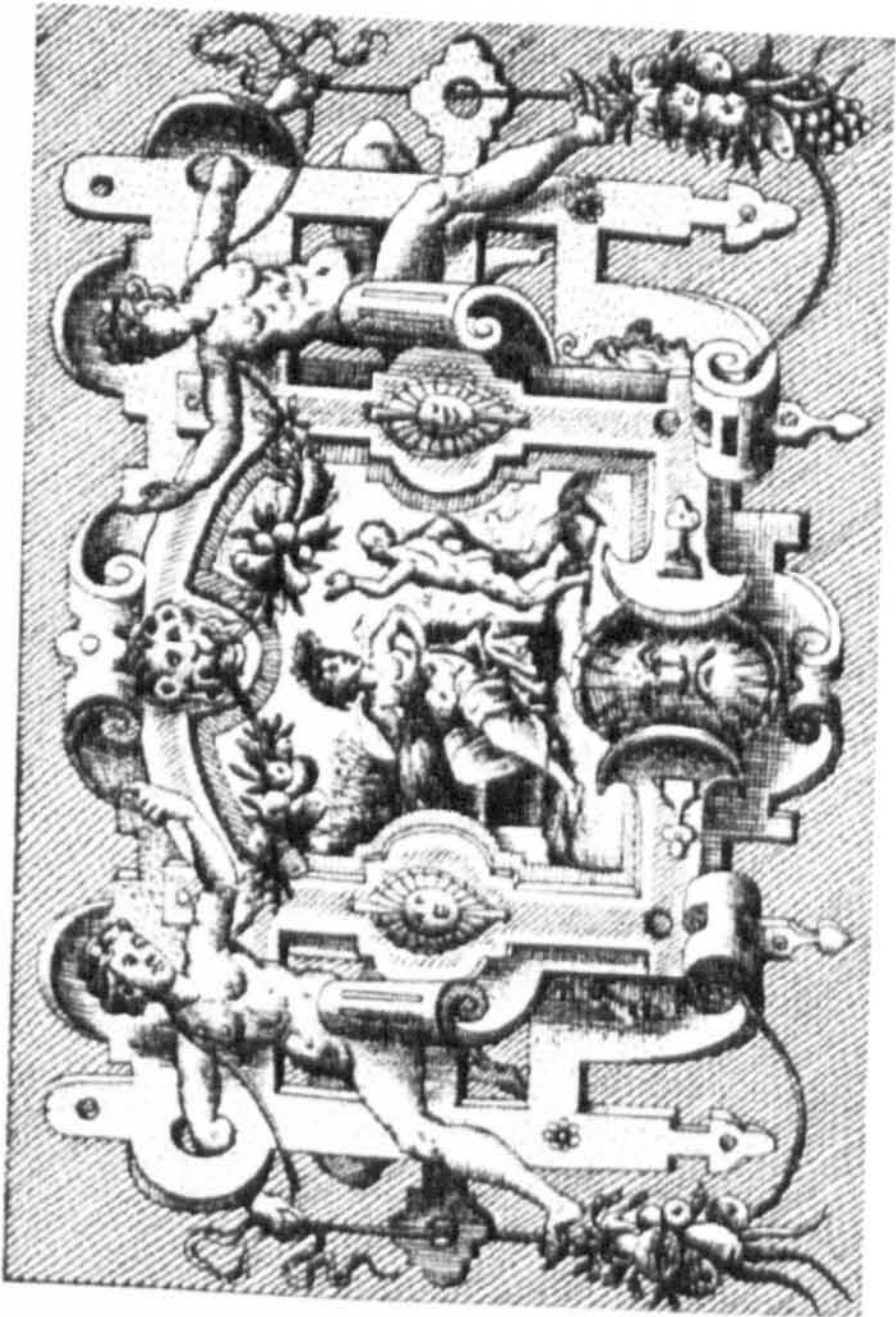


Plate 72. From Floris' *Veelderleij nieuwe inventien*, 1557

(b)



(d)



(a)

(c)

Plate 73 (a-d). Four plates from Cock's *Compertimentorum*, 1566

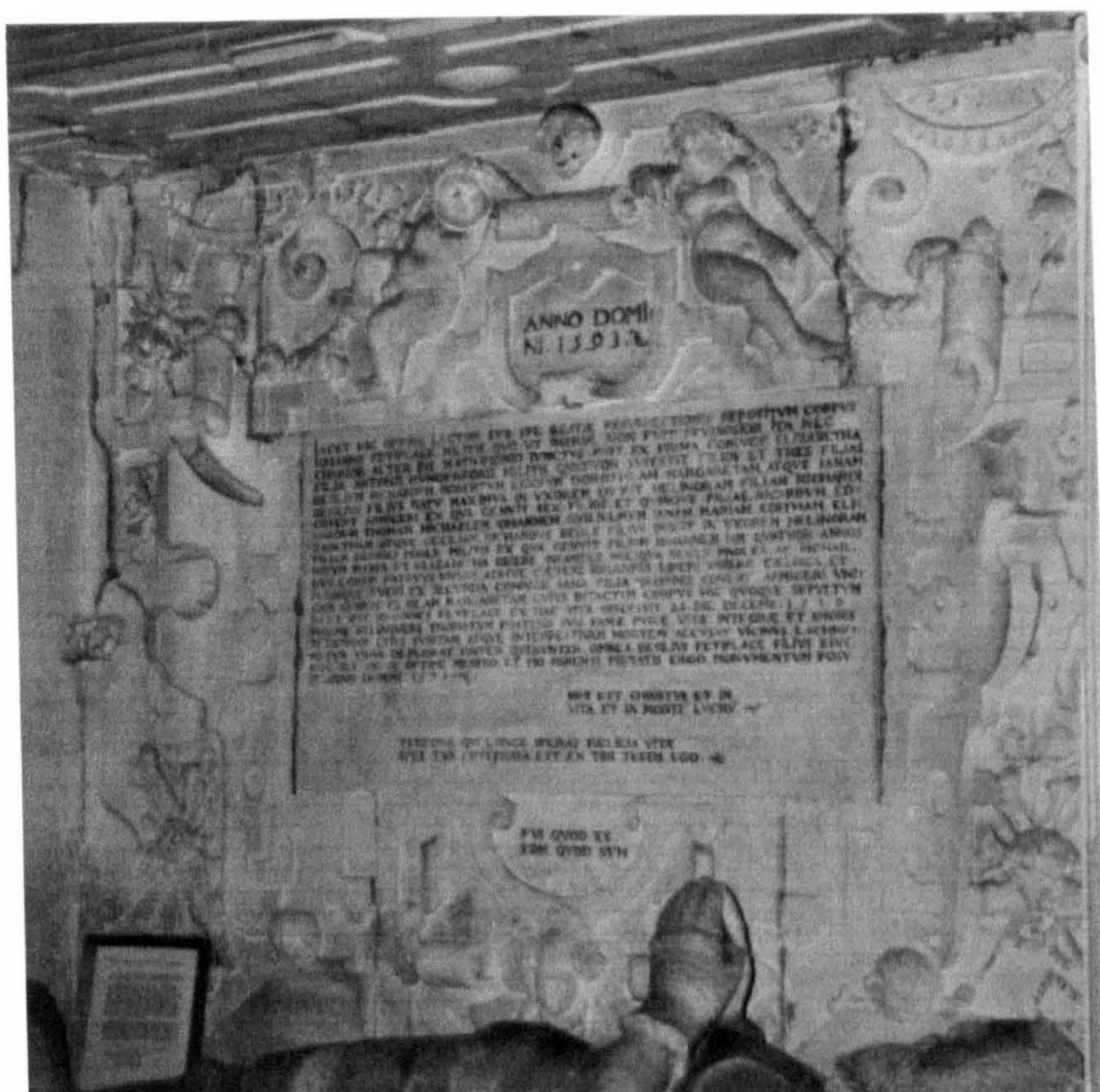


Plate 74. Panel from the tomb of John Fettiplace, Appleton, Berkshire



Plate 75. Title page from Cock's *Pictores, statuarii, architecti, latomi...*, 1563

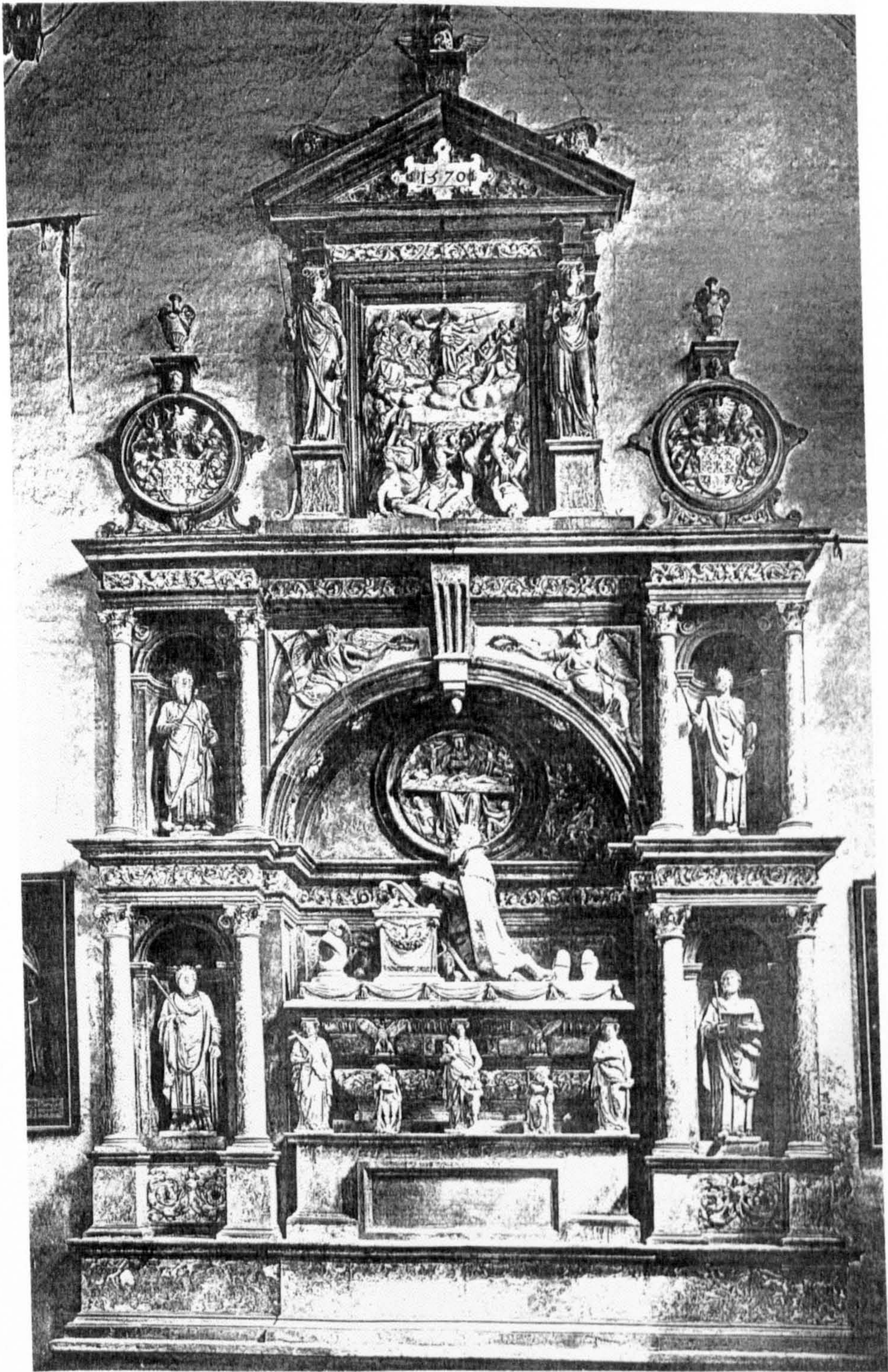


Plate 76. Tomb of Albrecht I of Prussia, Königsberg



Plate 77. Tomb of Louis, duc de Breze, Rouen Cathedral

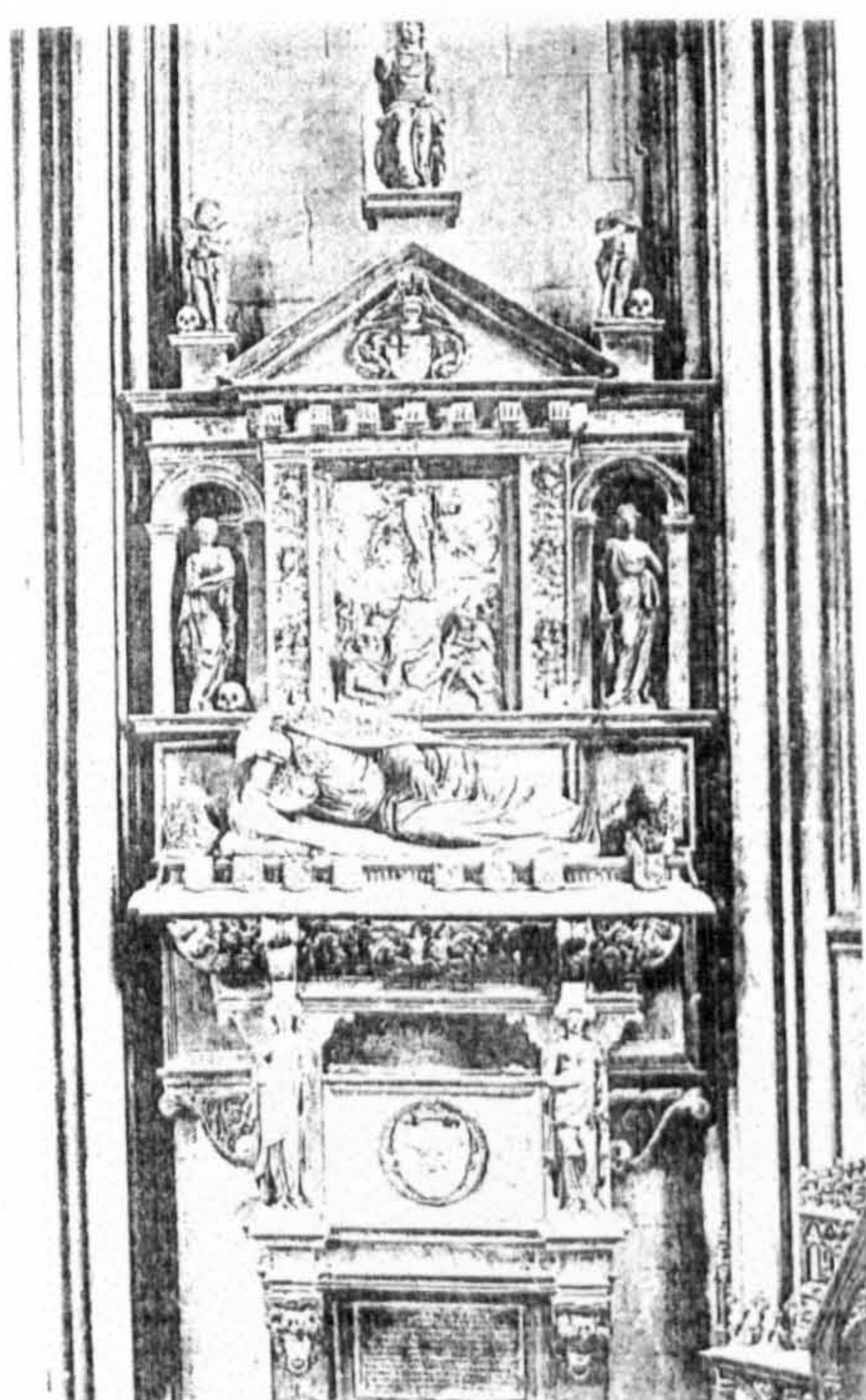
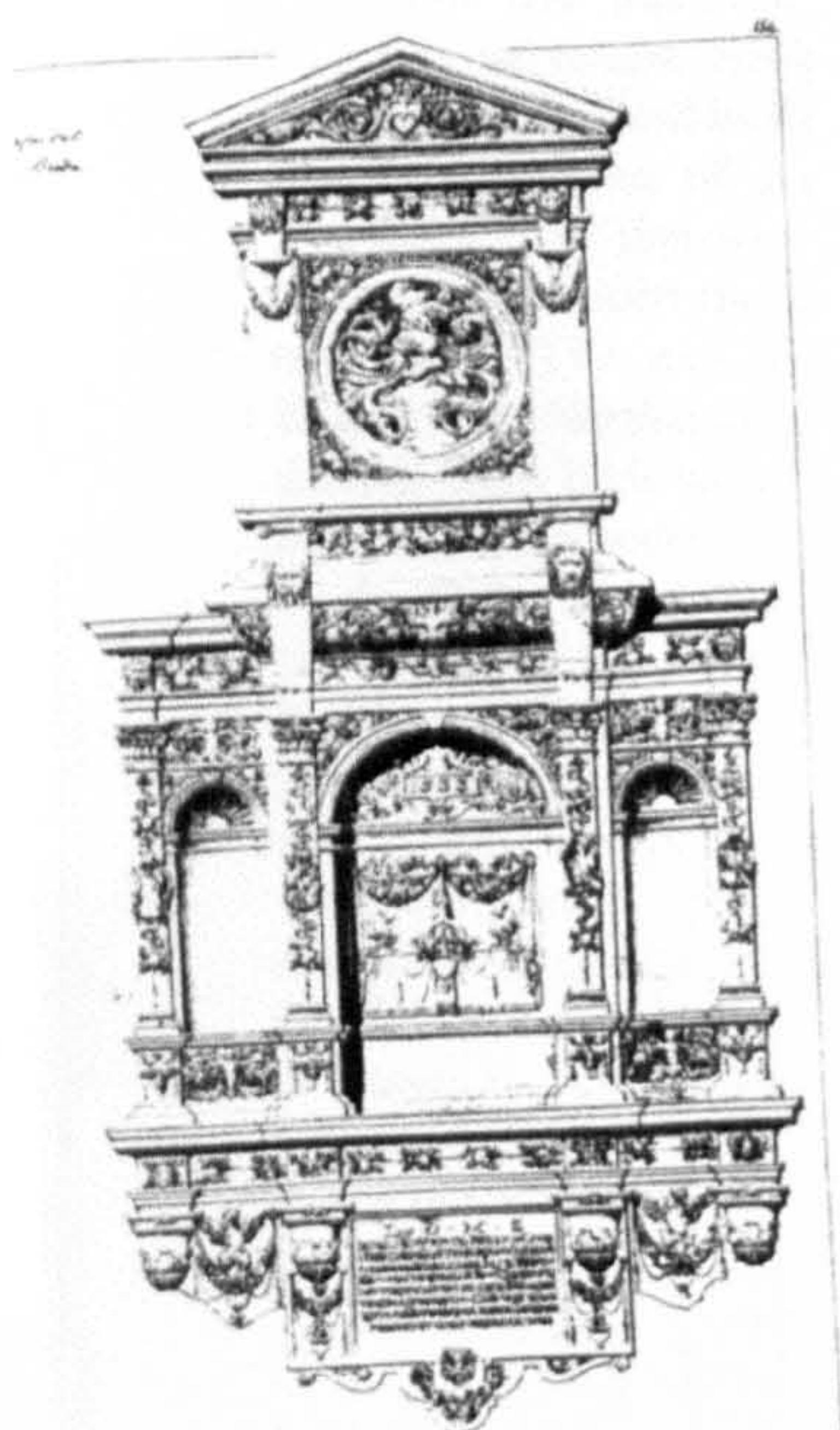


Plate 78 (a-d). Monuments of the Floris School. (a) Top left, Breda, (b) top right, Louvain, (c) bottom left, Cologne, (d) bottom right, St Omer. Plates b-d are from Hedicke, 1913.

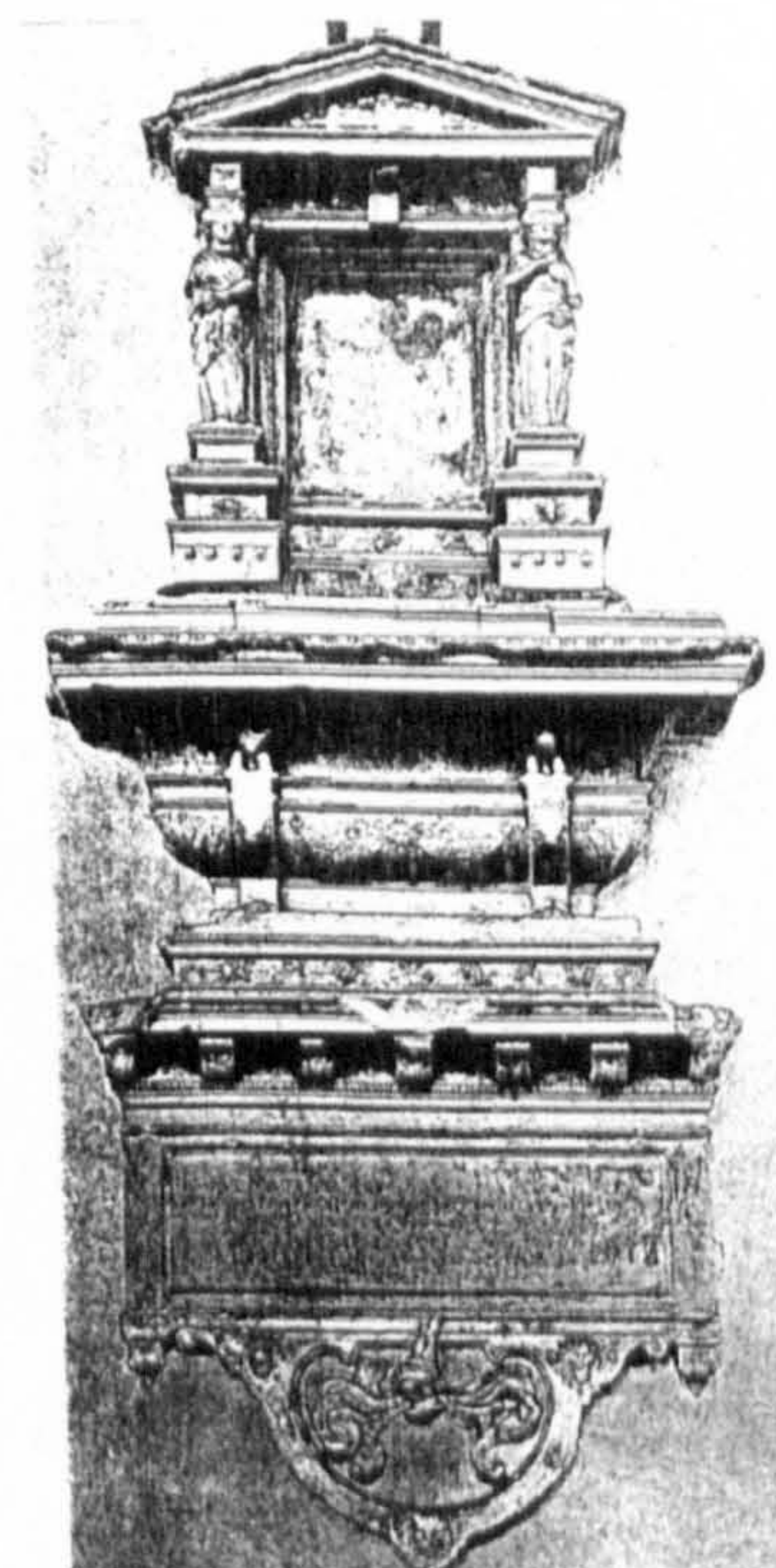
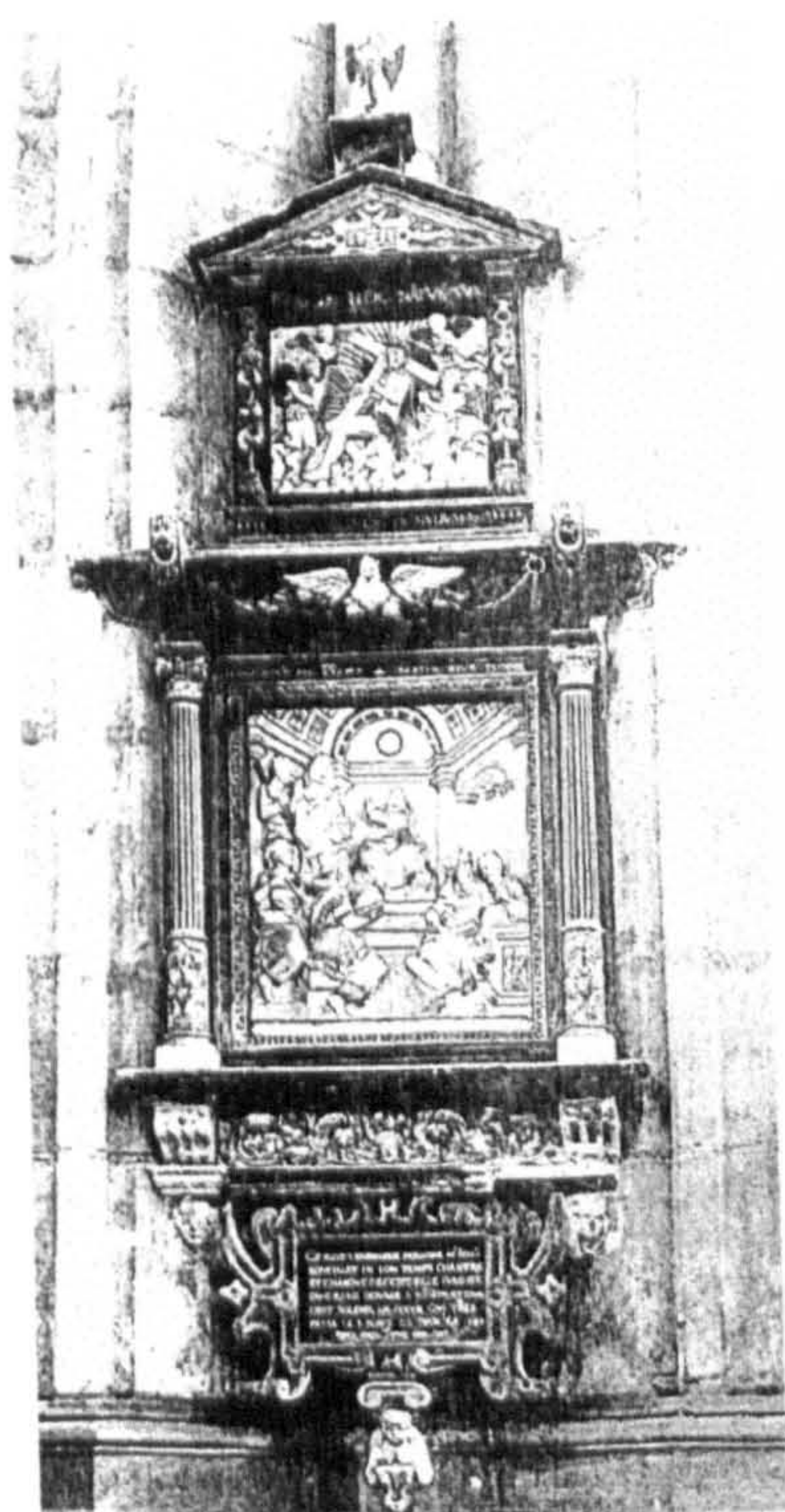


Plate 79 (a-d). Monuments of the Floris School. (a) Top left, St Omer, (b) top right, Breda, (c) bottom left, Breda, (d) bottom right, Breda.



Plate 80 (left) Female figure from the upper storey of the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey



Plate 81 (right) Caryatide from the Cave tomb at Chicheley



Plate 82. Tomb of the Darcy family, Aldgate, London

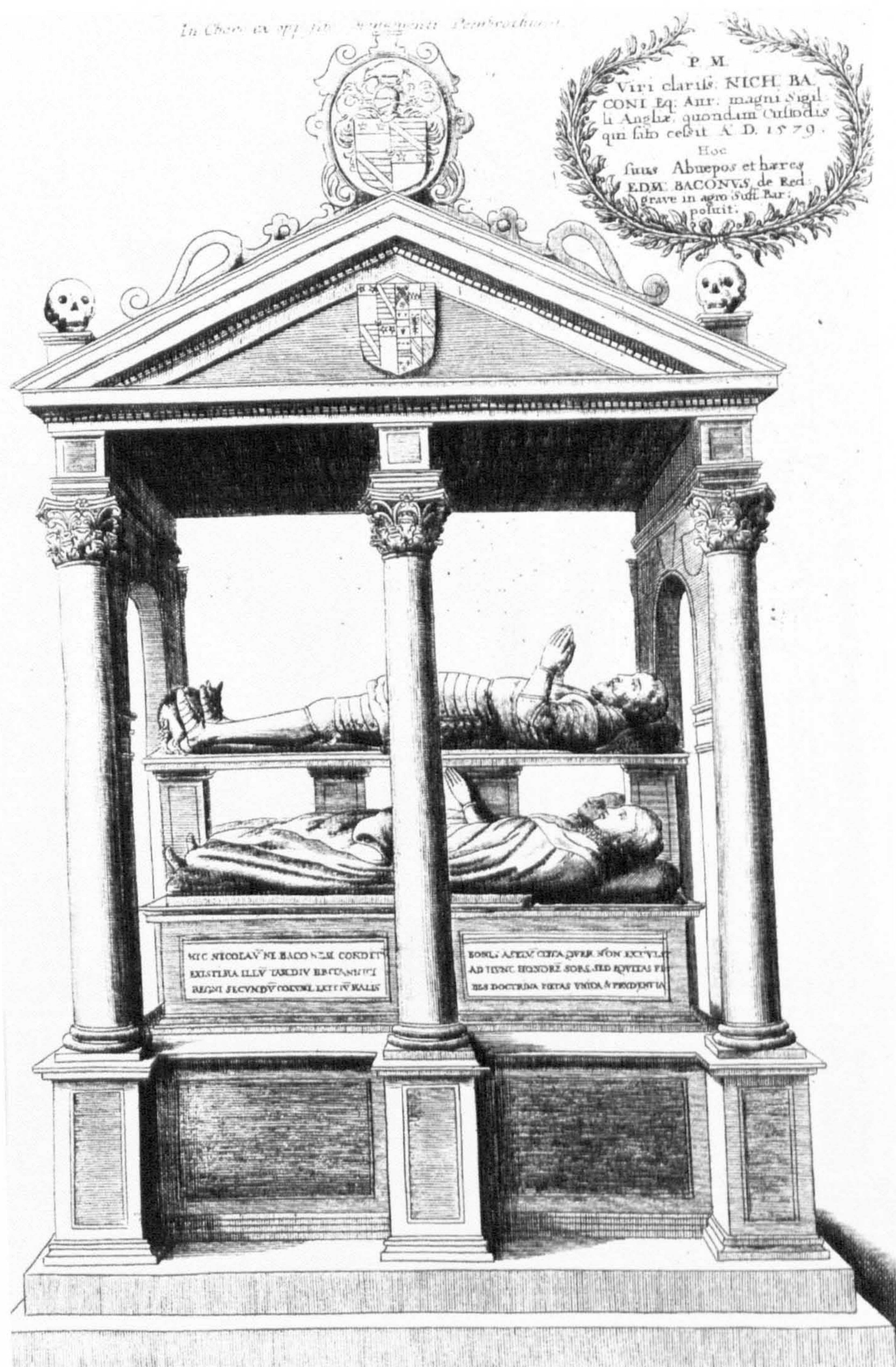


Plate 83. Tomb of Sir Nicholas Bacon in old St Paul's Cathedral
(Dugdale, 1658)

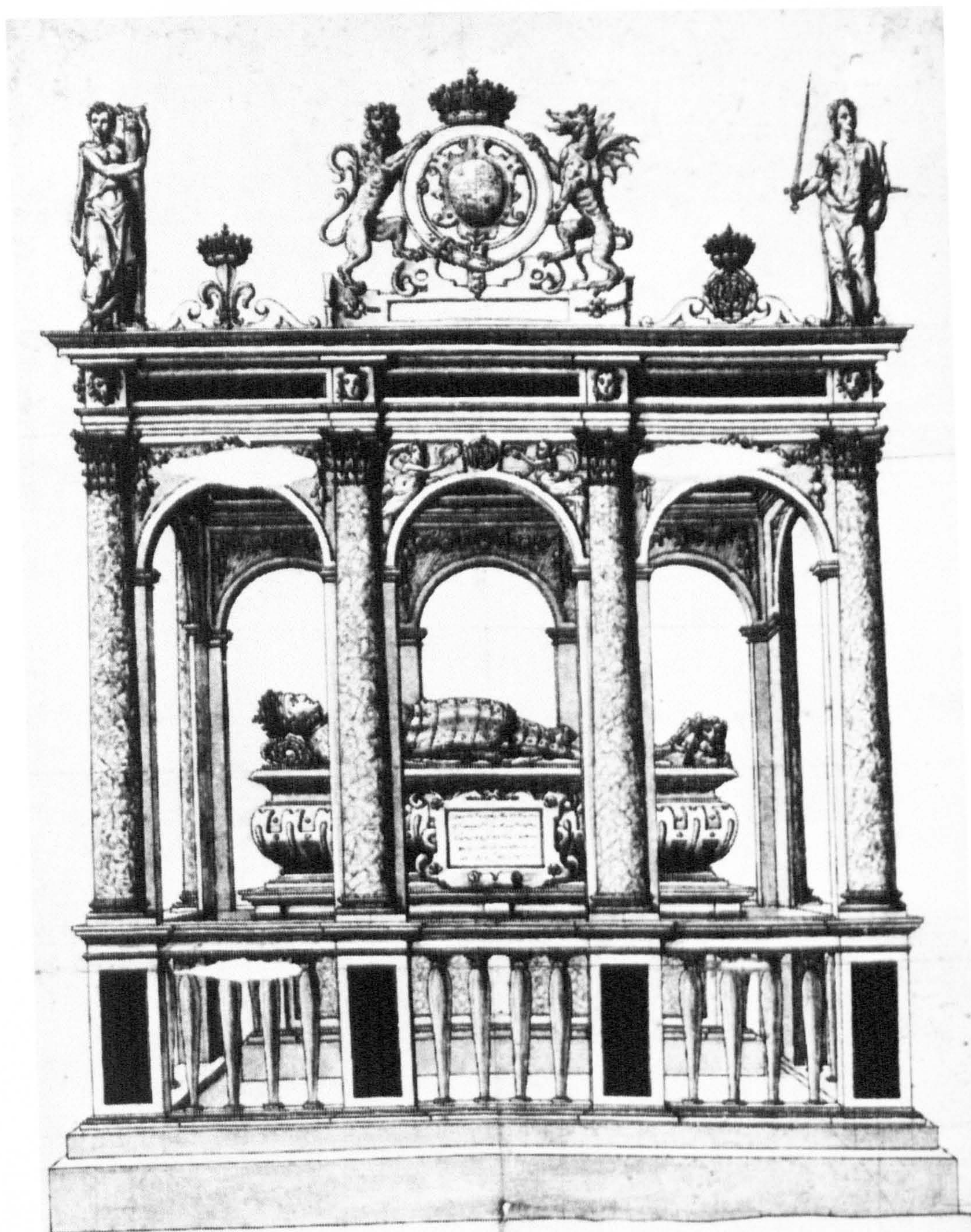


Plate 84. Proposal by one of the Cure family *c.*1573, for a tomb for Edward VI

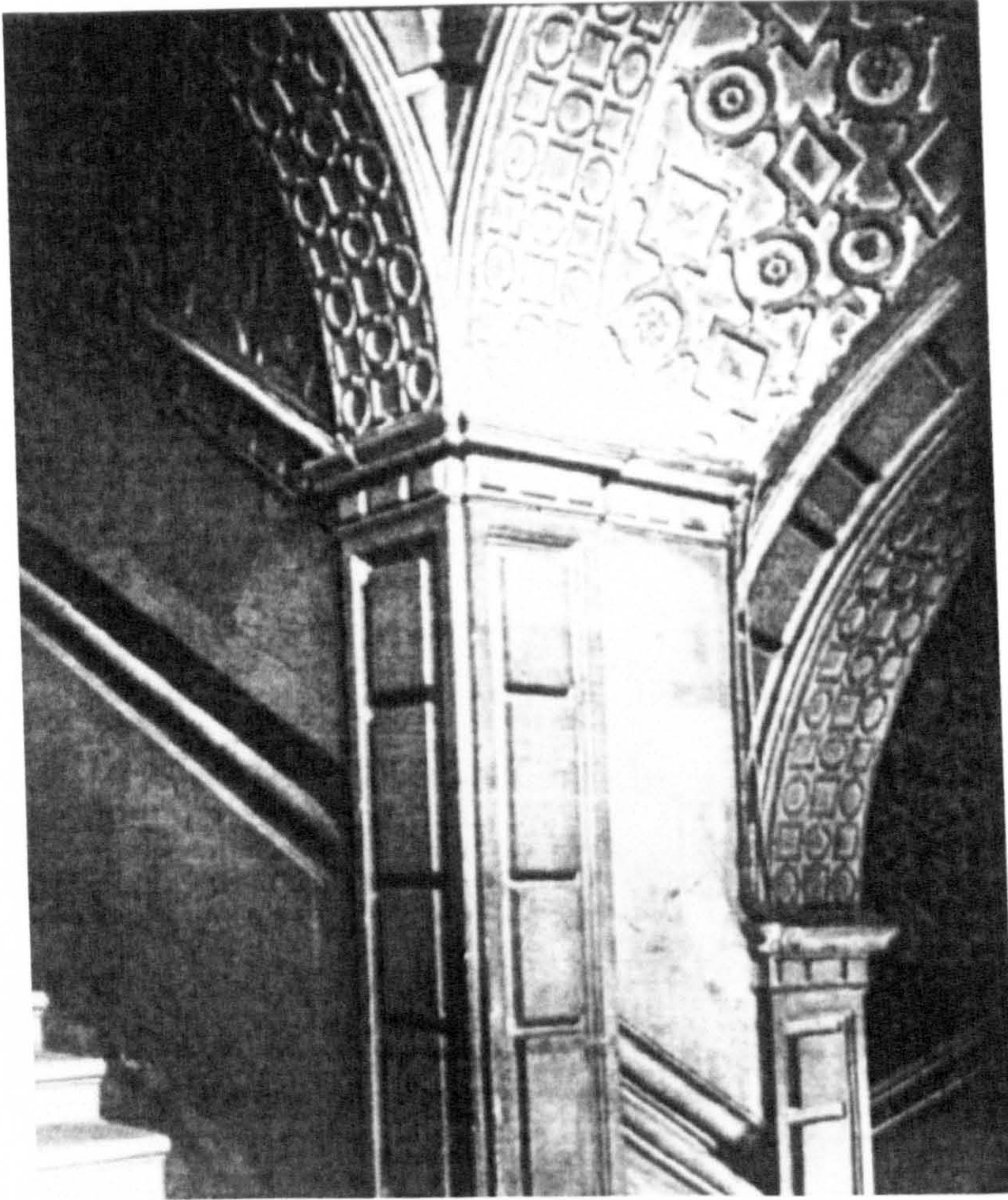


Plate 85. The "Roman Staircase", Burghley House

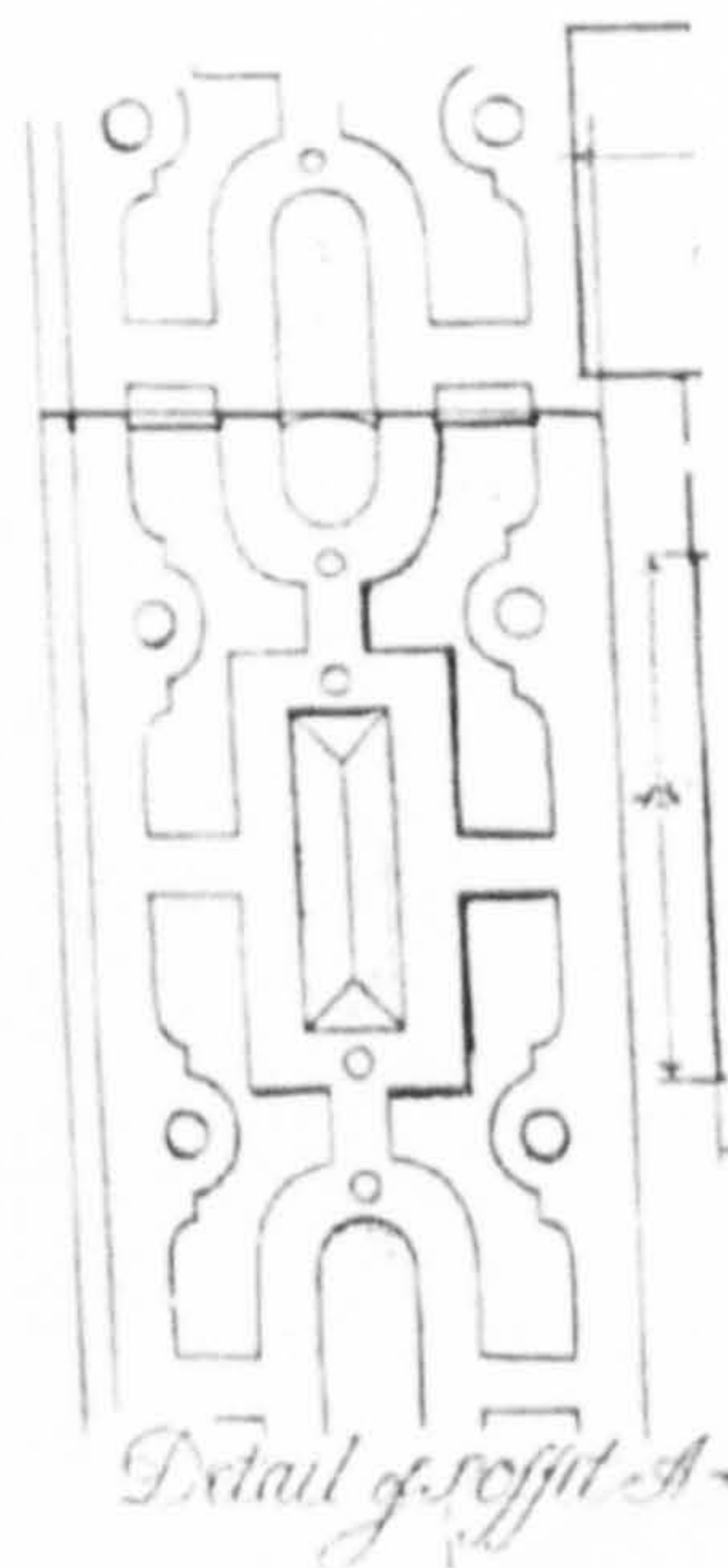


Plate 86. Design from the soffite of the entablature in the Haynes Grange Room, Bedfordshire

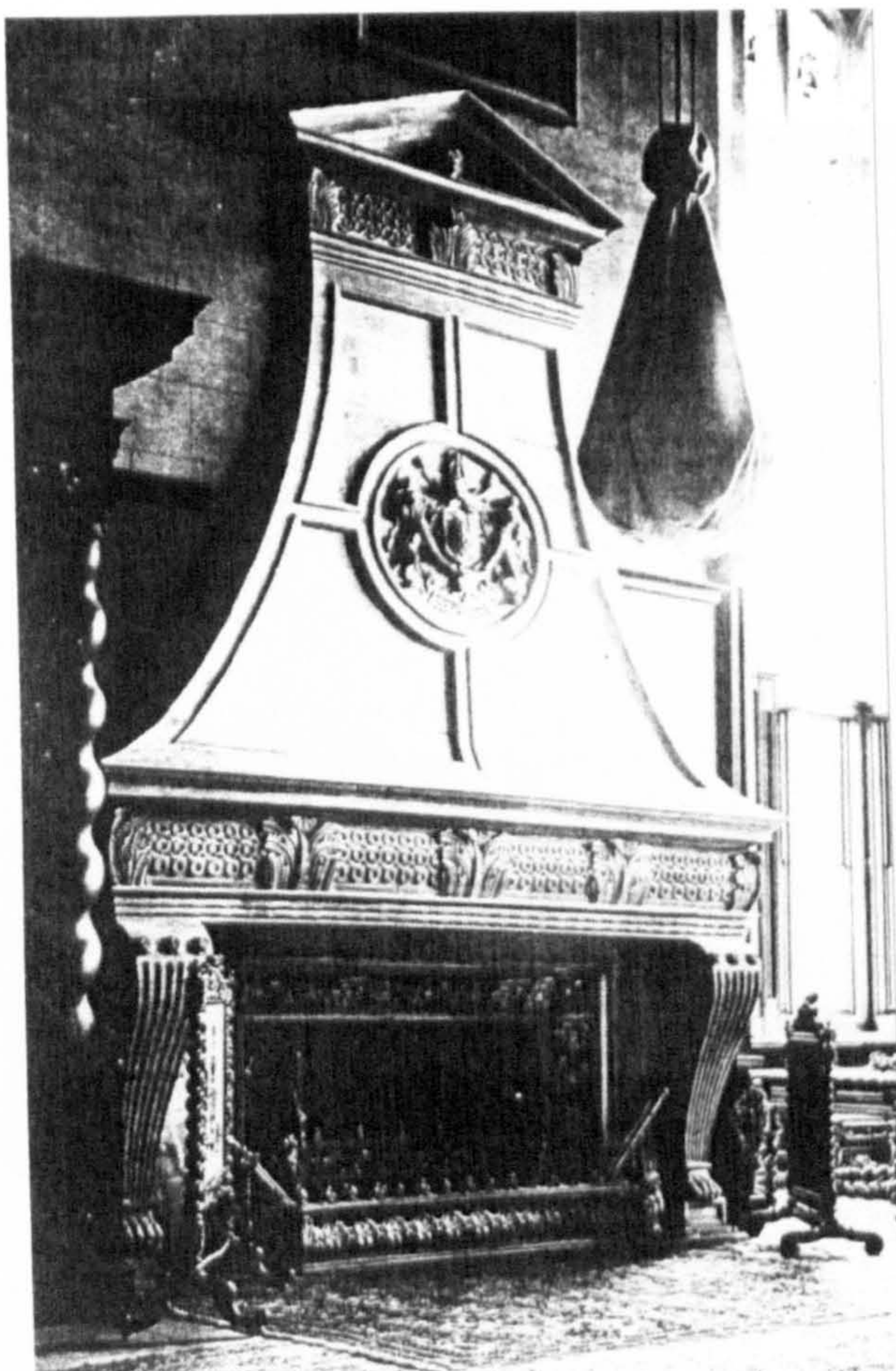


Plate 87. Chimney piece in the Great Hall, Burghley House



Plate 88. Design for a chimney piece from Serlio's *Architecture*, Book 4



Plate 89. Female figure from the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey

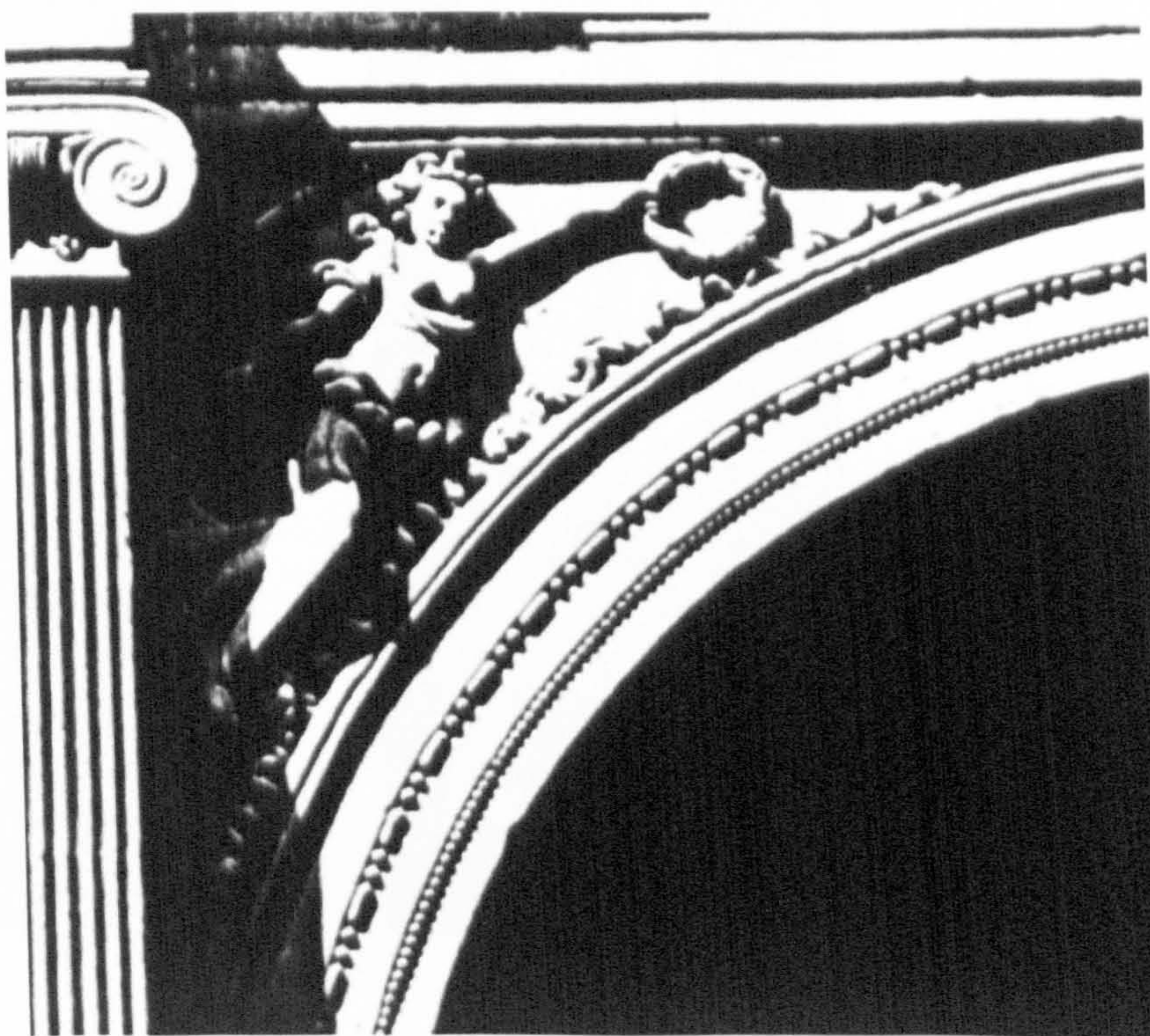


Plate 90. Female figure from the Gate of Virtue, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

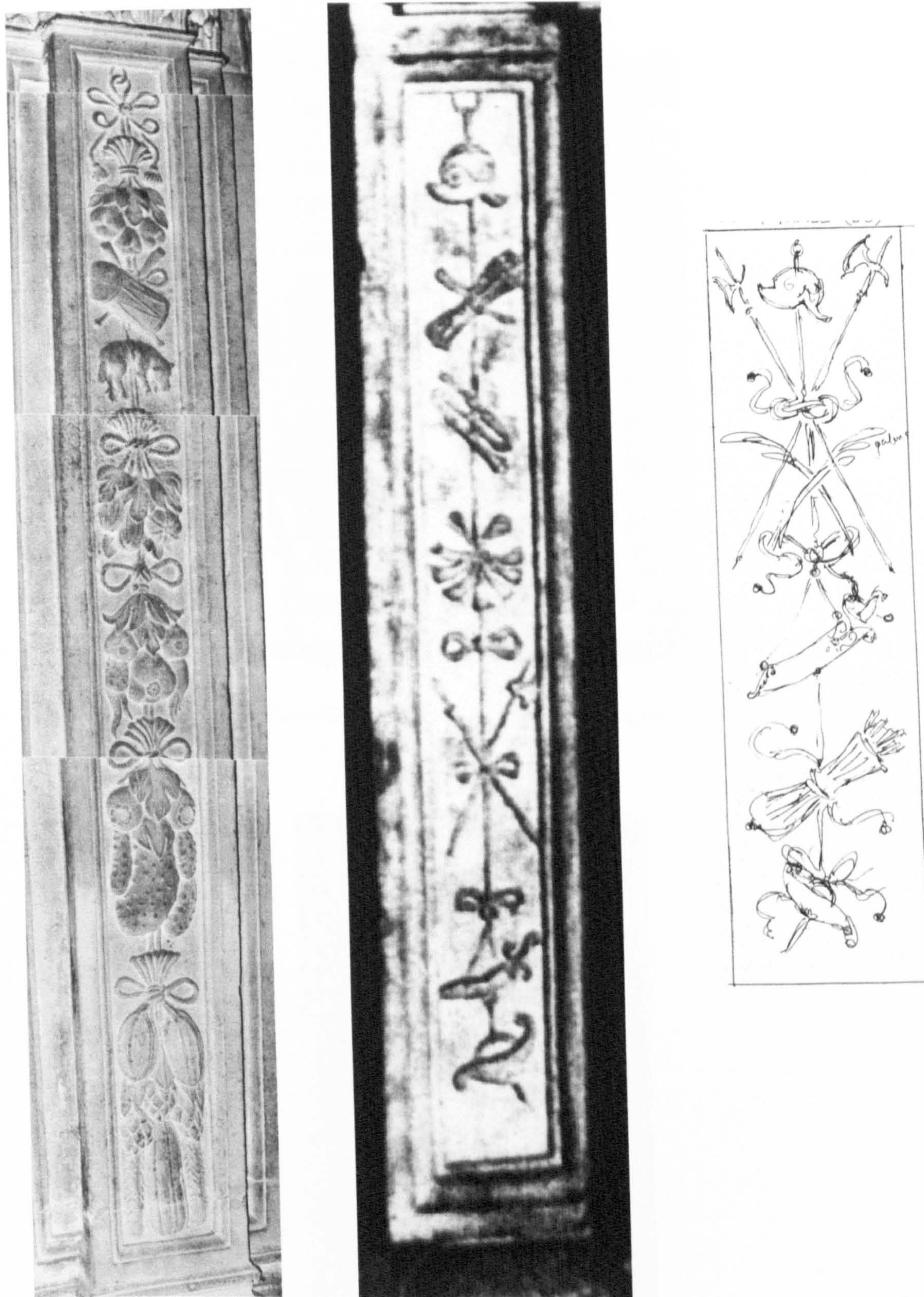


Plate 91 (a-c). Panels of trophies. (a) Left, Cromwell monument at Launde Abbey, (b) centre, *Amicus fidelis protexio fortis chimney piece*, Deene Park, (c) right, one of four panels behind the paired doric columns on the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt, Turvey.

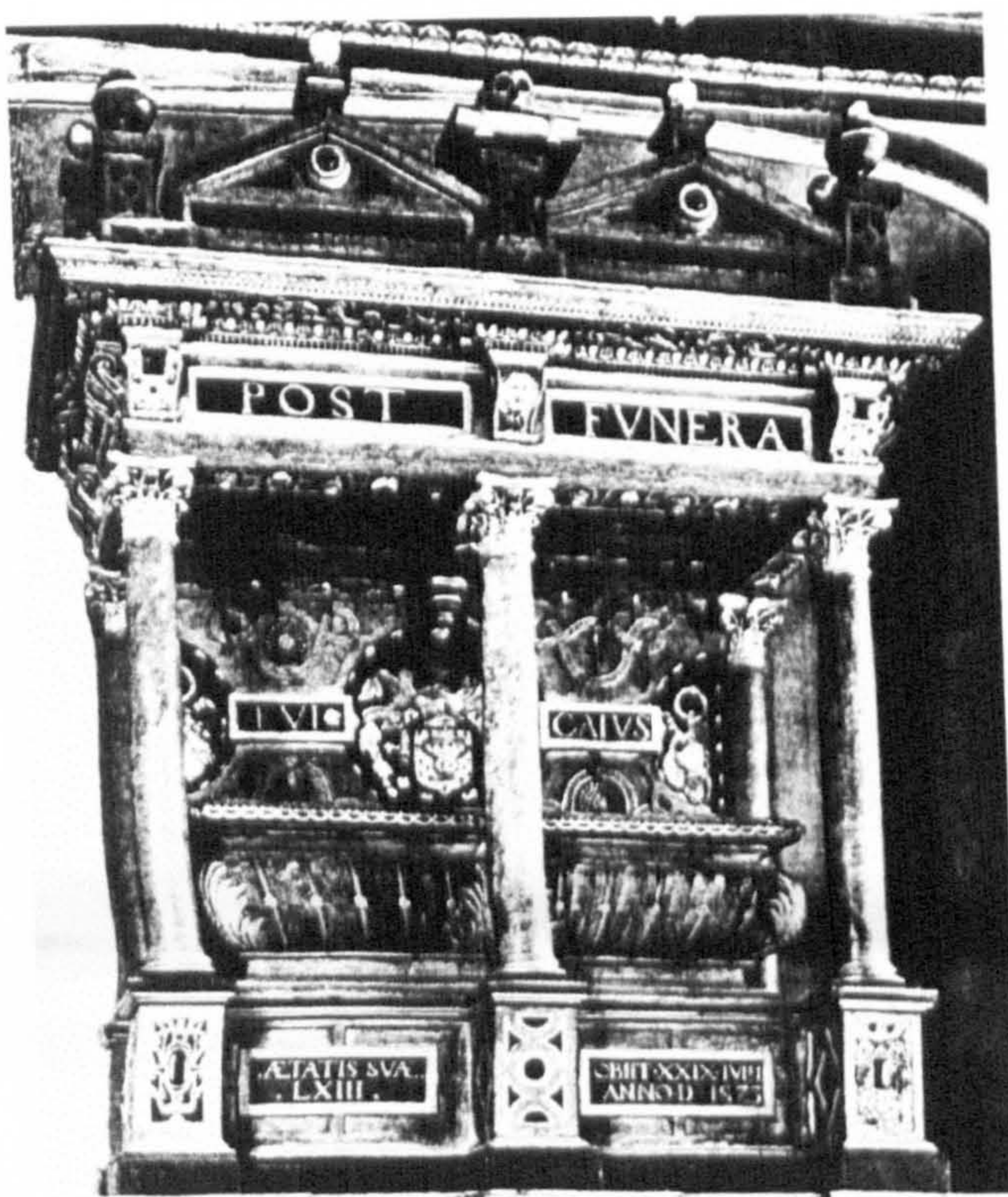


Plate 92. Tomb of John Caius, Cambridge



Plate 93. Tomb of Edmund Ashfield, Shenley, Buckinghamshire

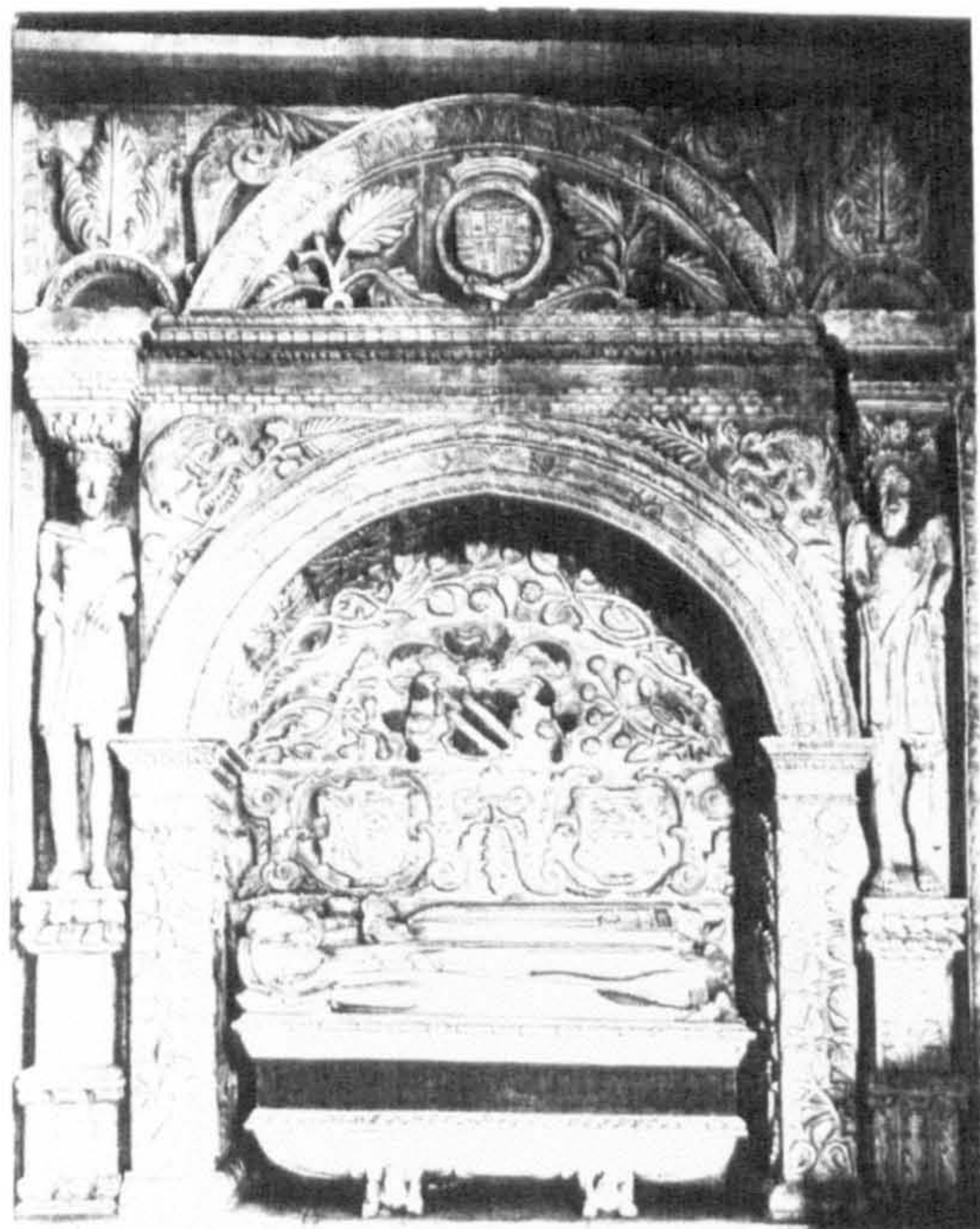


Plate 94 (a-c). Tombs by the sculptor John Gildon of Hereford. (a) Above left, tomb of Richard Harford, Bosbury, (b) above right, tomb of John Harford, Bosbury, (c) below, tomb of Richard Willison, Madley.



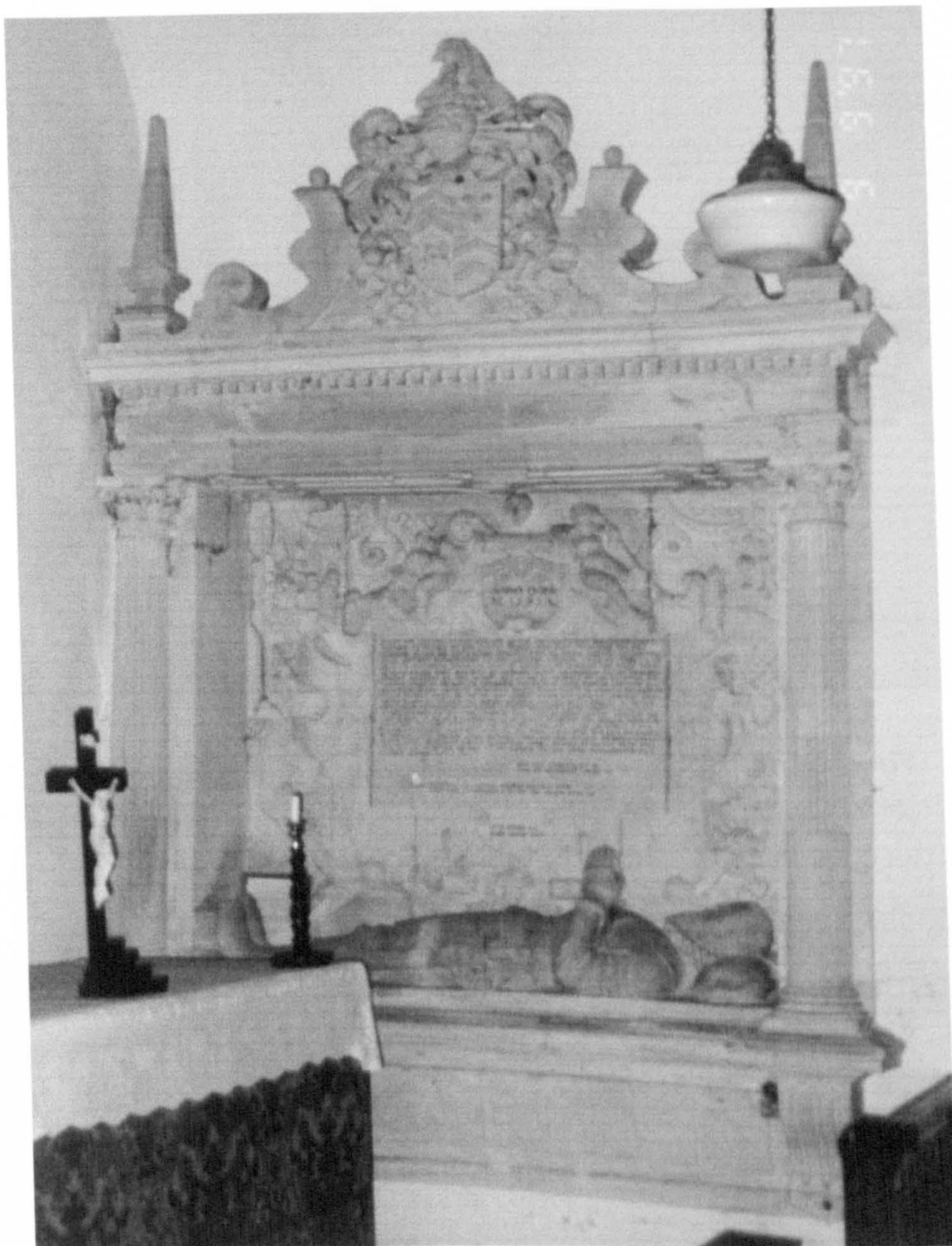


Plate 95. Tomb of Sir John Fettiplace, Appleton, Berkshire

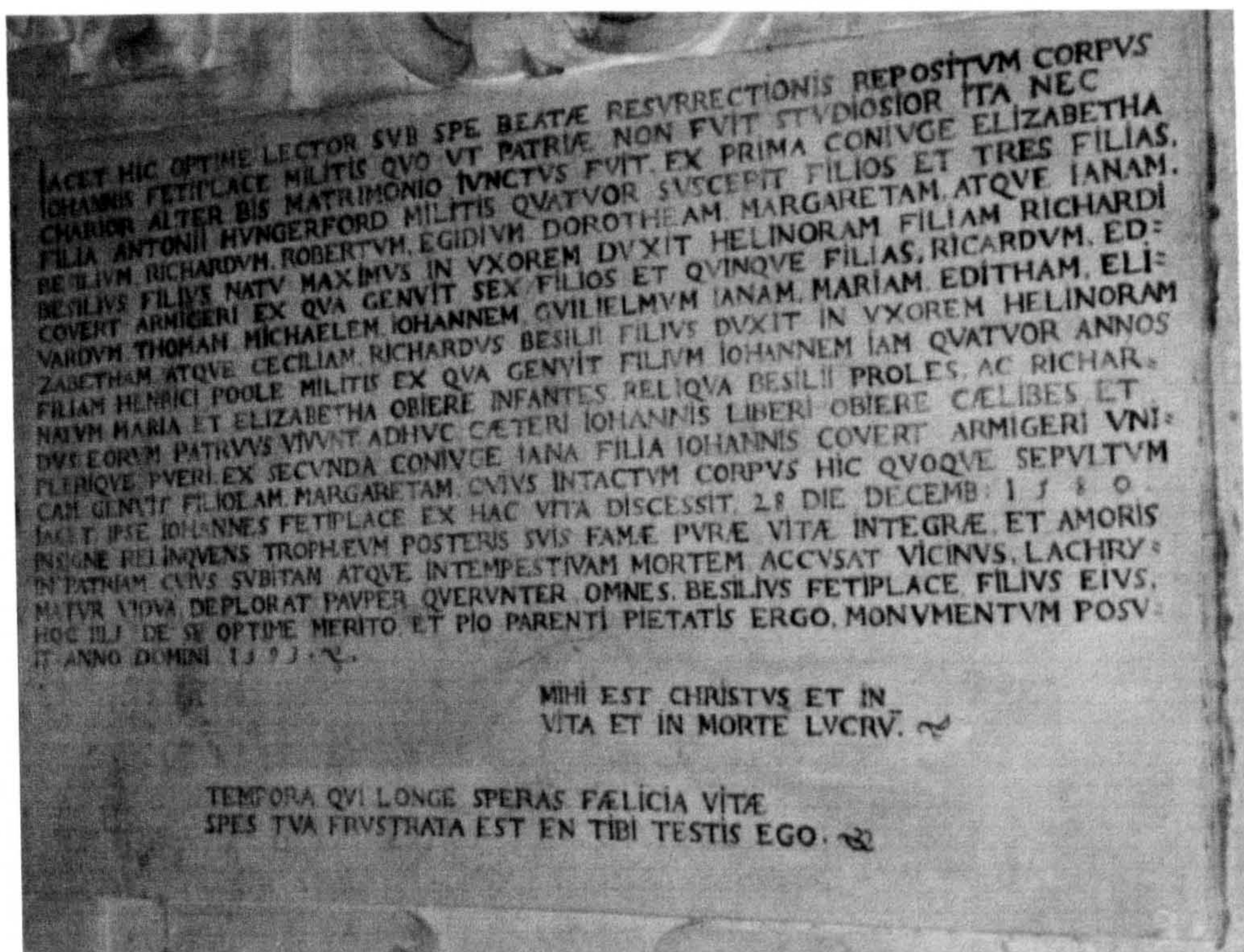


Plate 96. Inscription, tomb of Sir John Fettiplace at Appleton, Berkshire

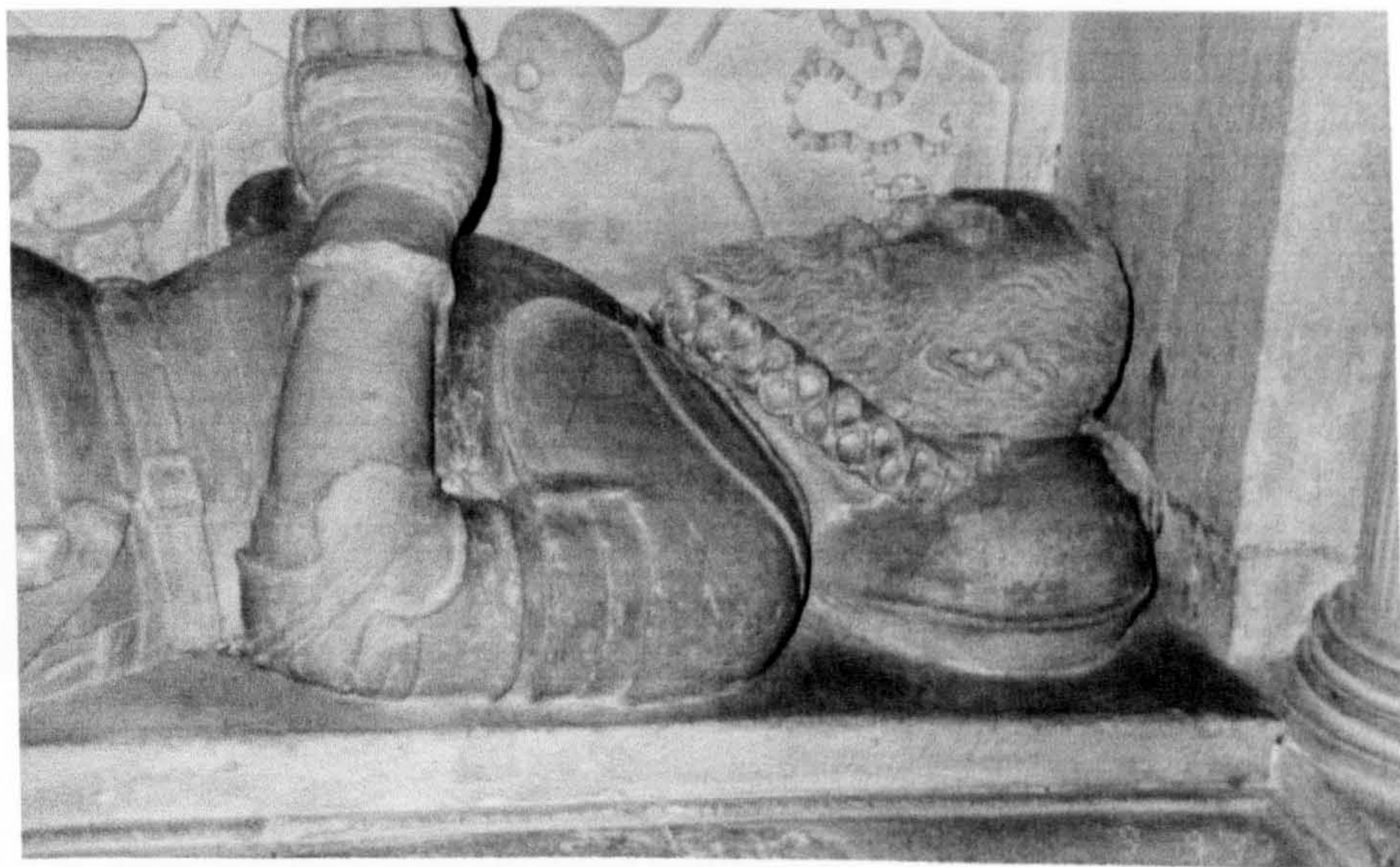


Plate 97. Effigy of Sir John Fettiplace, Appleton

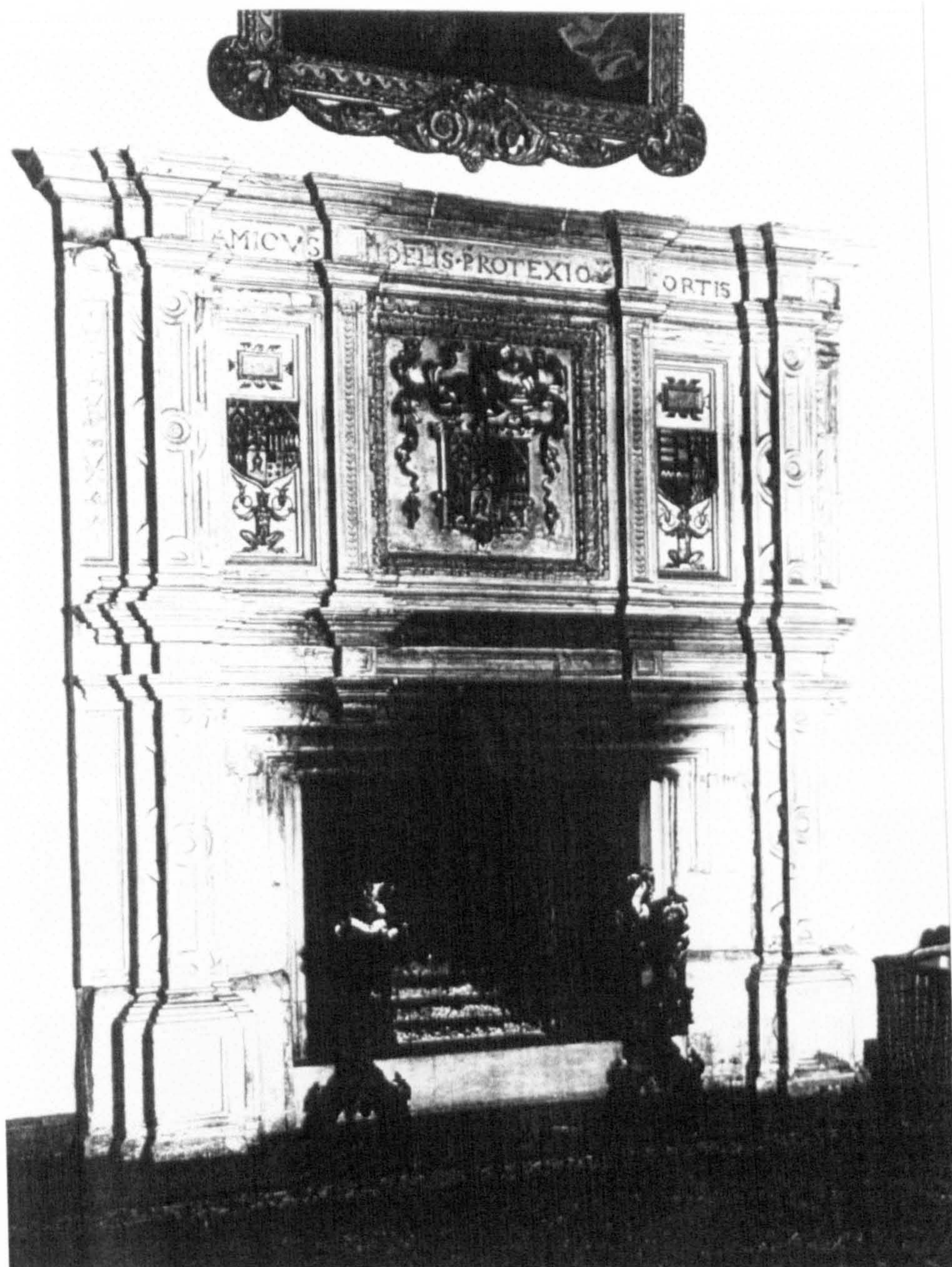


Plate 98. *The Amicus fidelis protexio fortis* chimney piece at Deene Park, Northamptonshire

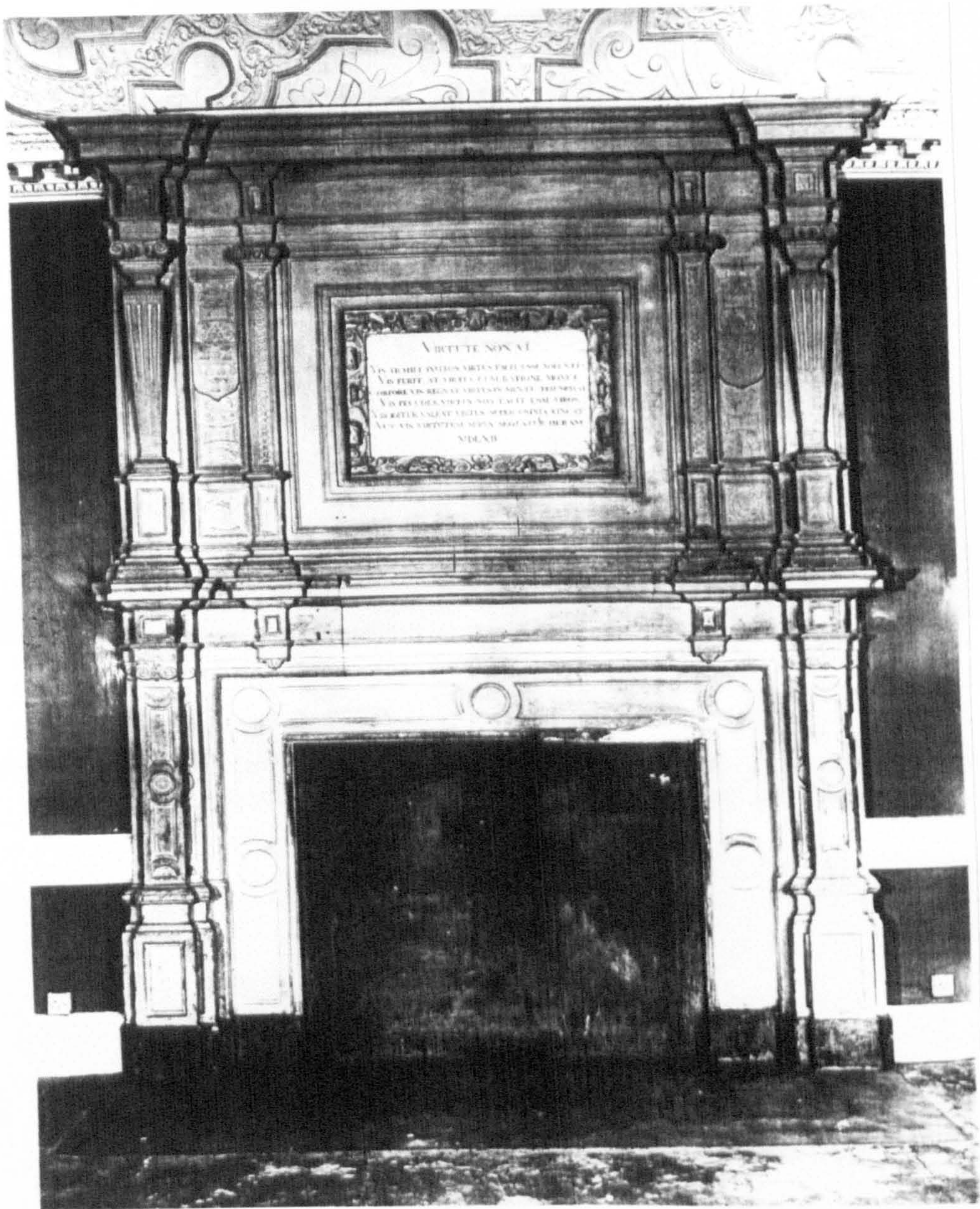


Plate 99. The *Virtute non vi* chimney piece at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire

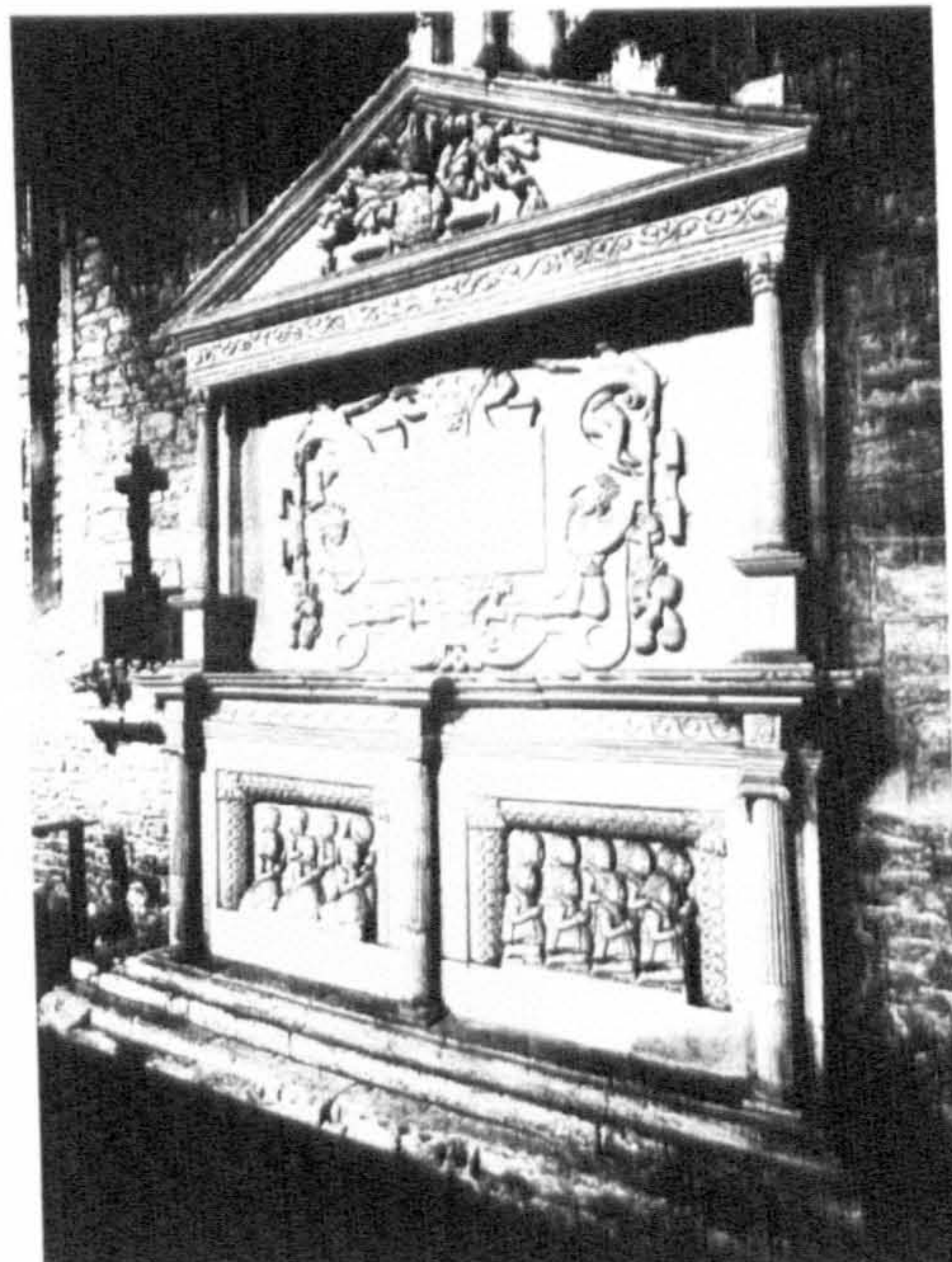
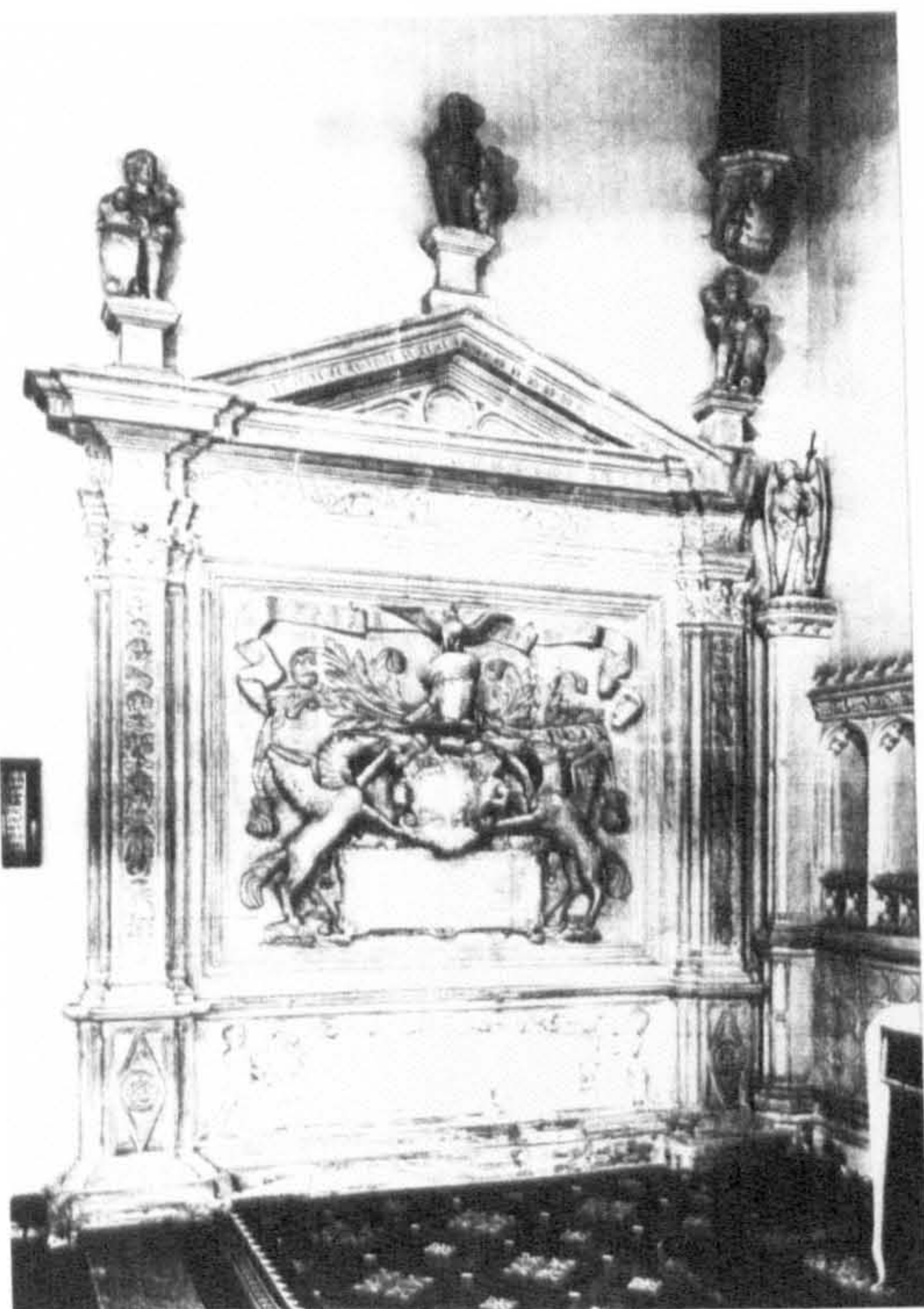


Plate 100 (a) above left, tomb of Gregory Cromwell, Launde Abbey, Leicestershire.
Plate 100 (b) above right, tomb of Edmund Harman, Burford, Oxfordshire

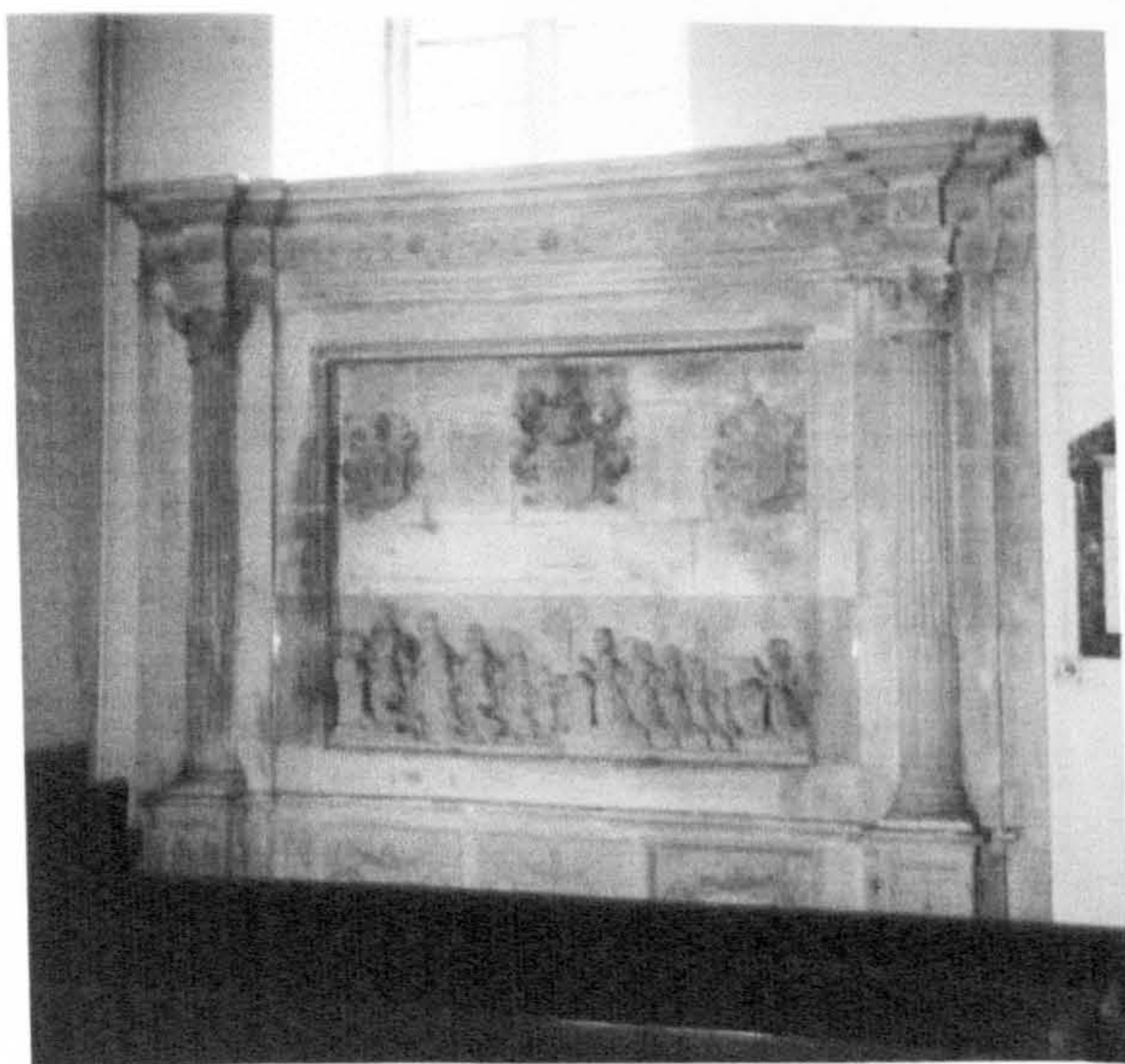


Plate 100 (c) above left, tomb of Richard Covert, Slaugham, Sussex
Plate 100 (d) above right, tomb of Thomas Tipping, Ickford, Buckinghamshire

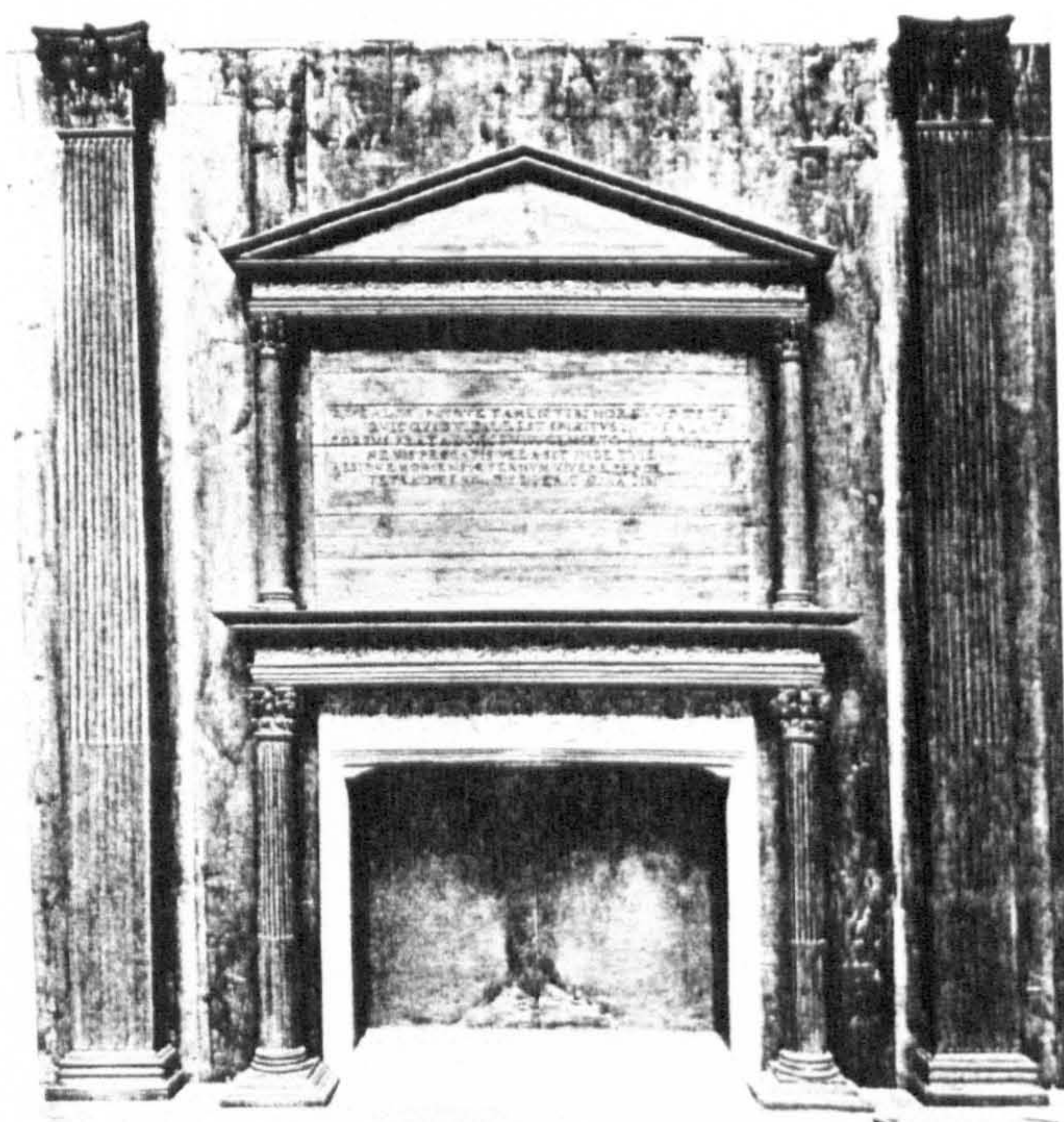


Plate 101. Chimney piece from the Haynes Grange Room, Bedfordshire

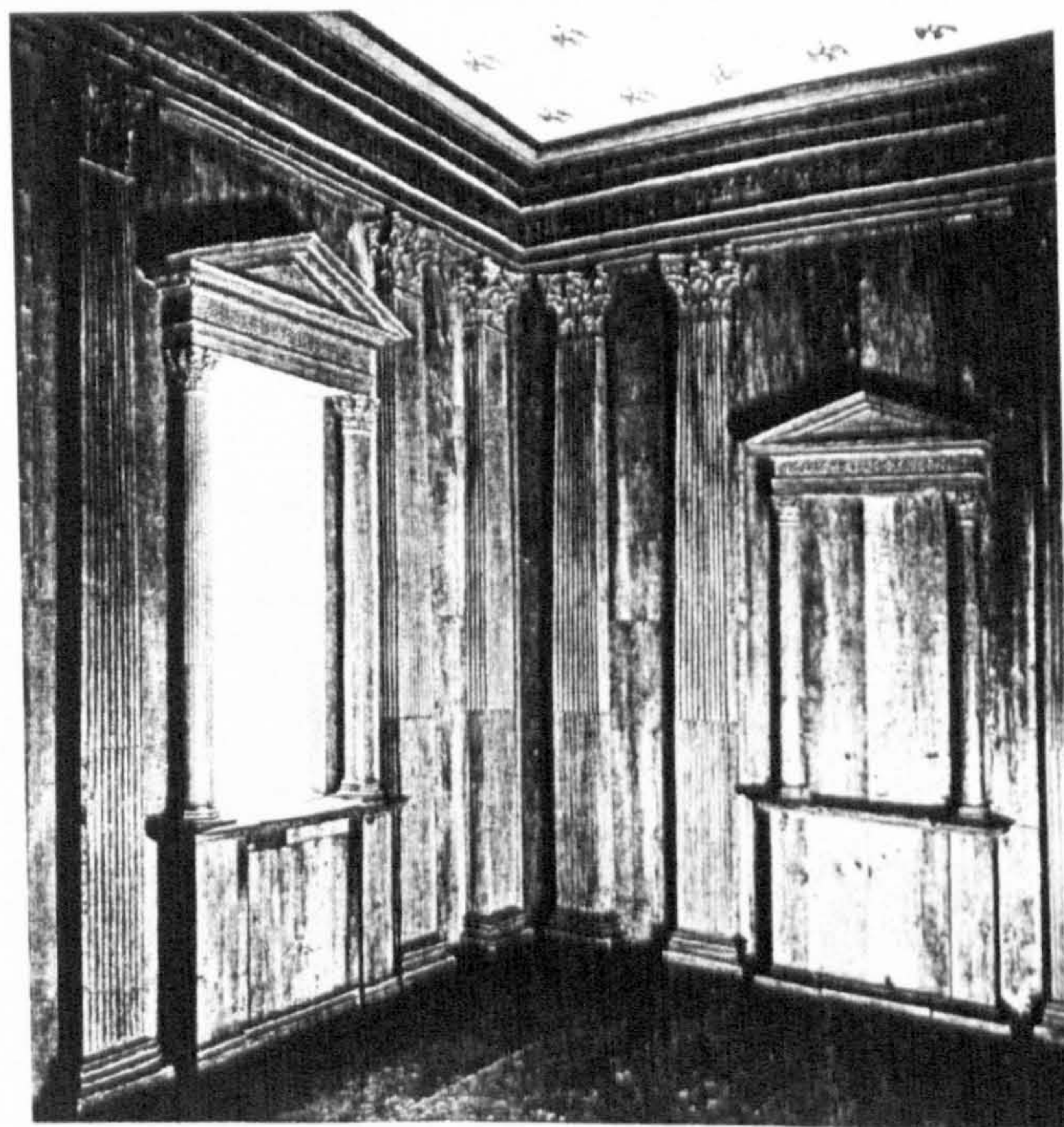


Plate 102. Aedicules from the Haynes Grange Room

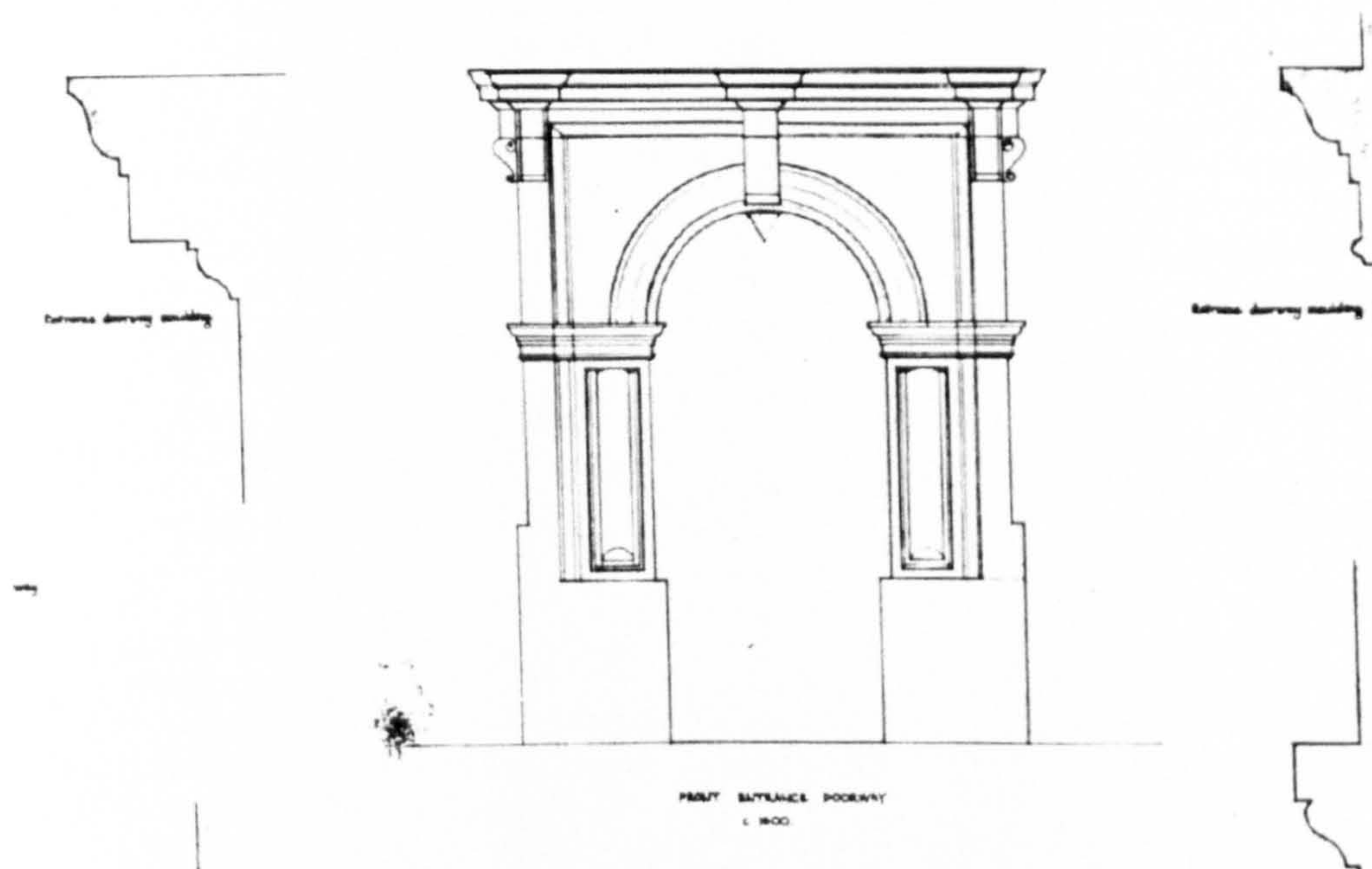
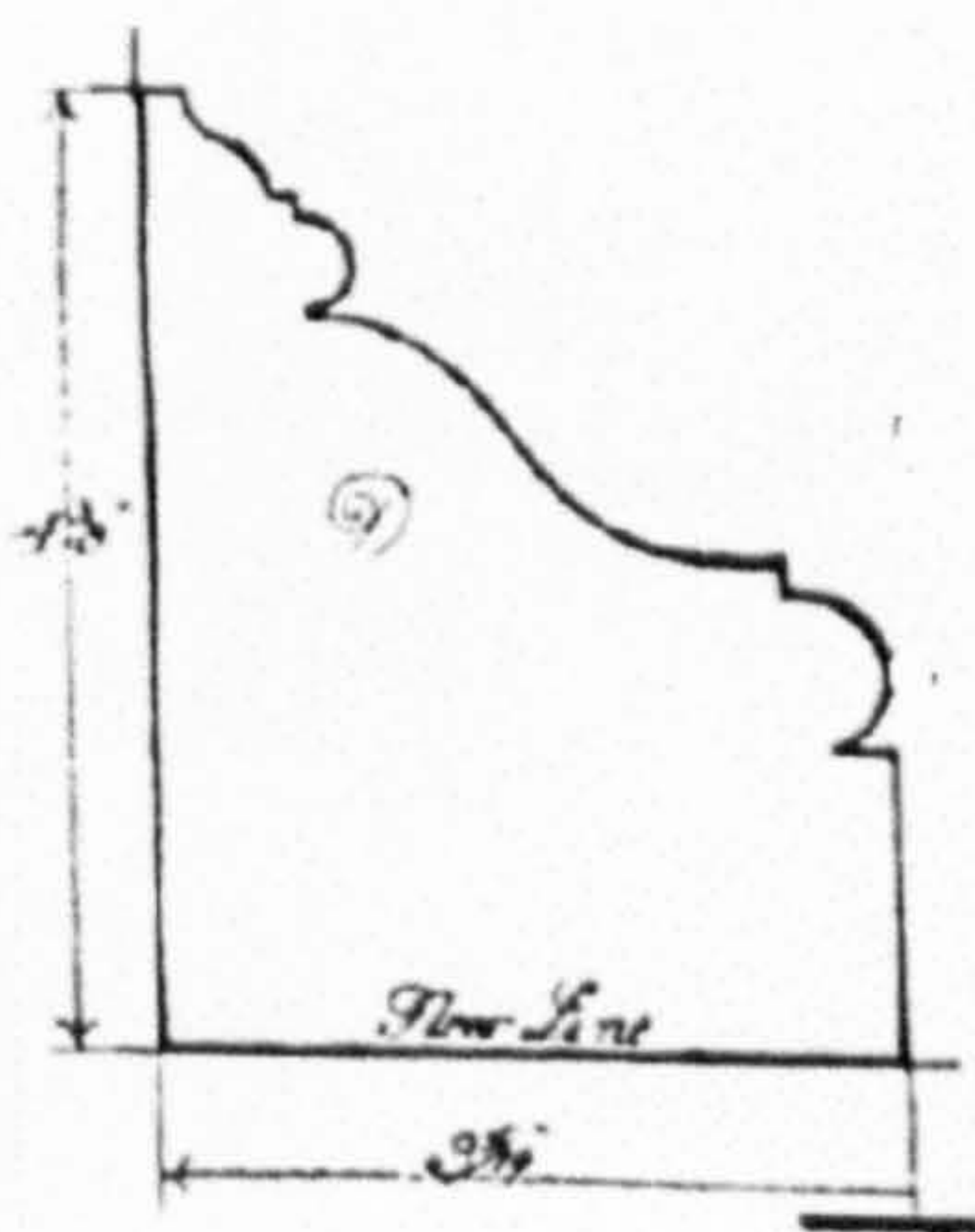
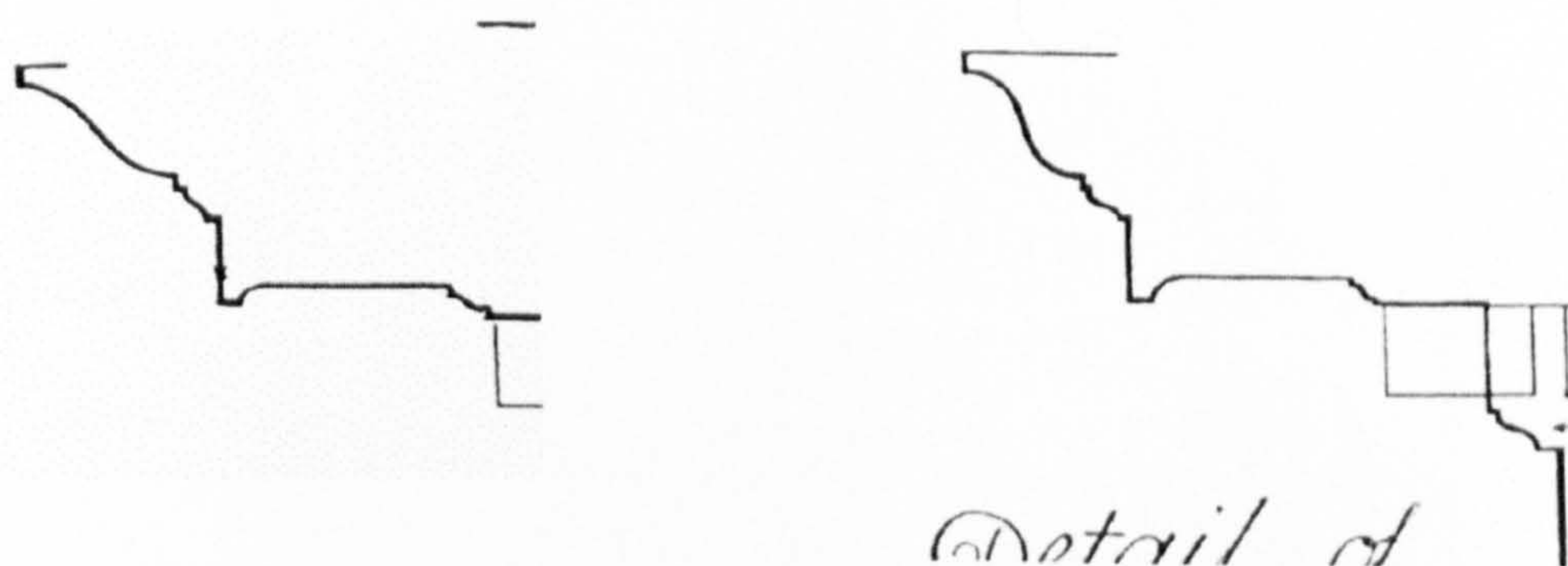


Plate 103 (a-g). Mouldings from Lyveden New Build (above) and the Haynes Grange Room (below). (a) top left, cornice, (b) top centre, entrance doorway, (c) and (d) right, mouldings from doorway, (e) and (f) below, cornices, (g) bottom, base of column.



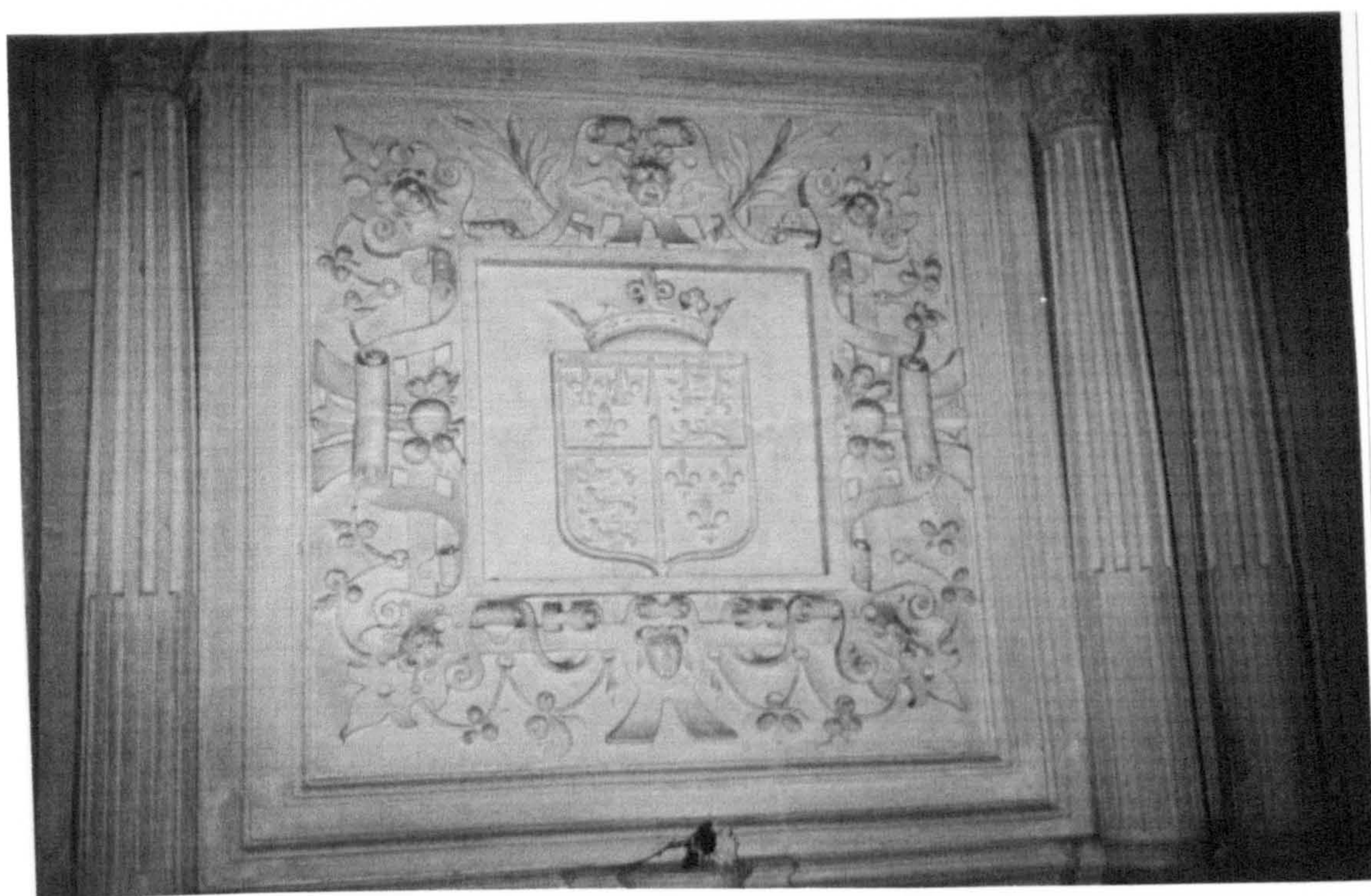


Plate 104. Panel from the tomb of the duke of York, Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire



Plate 105. Cartouche from a map by Remigius Hogenberg
(Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1573)

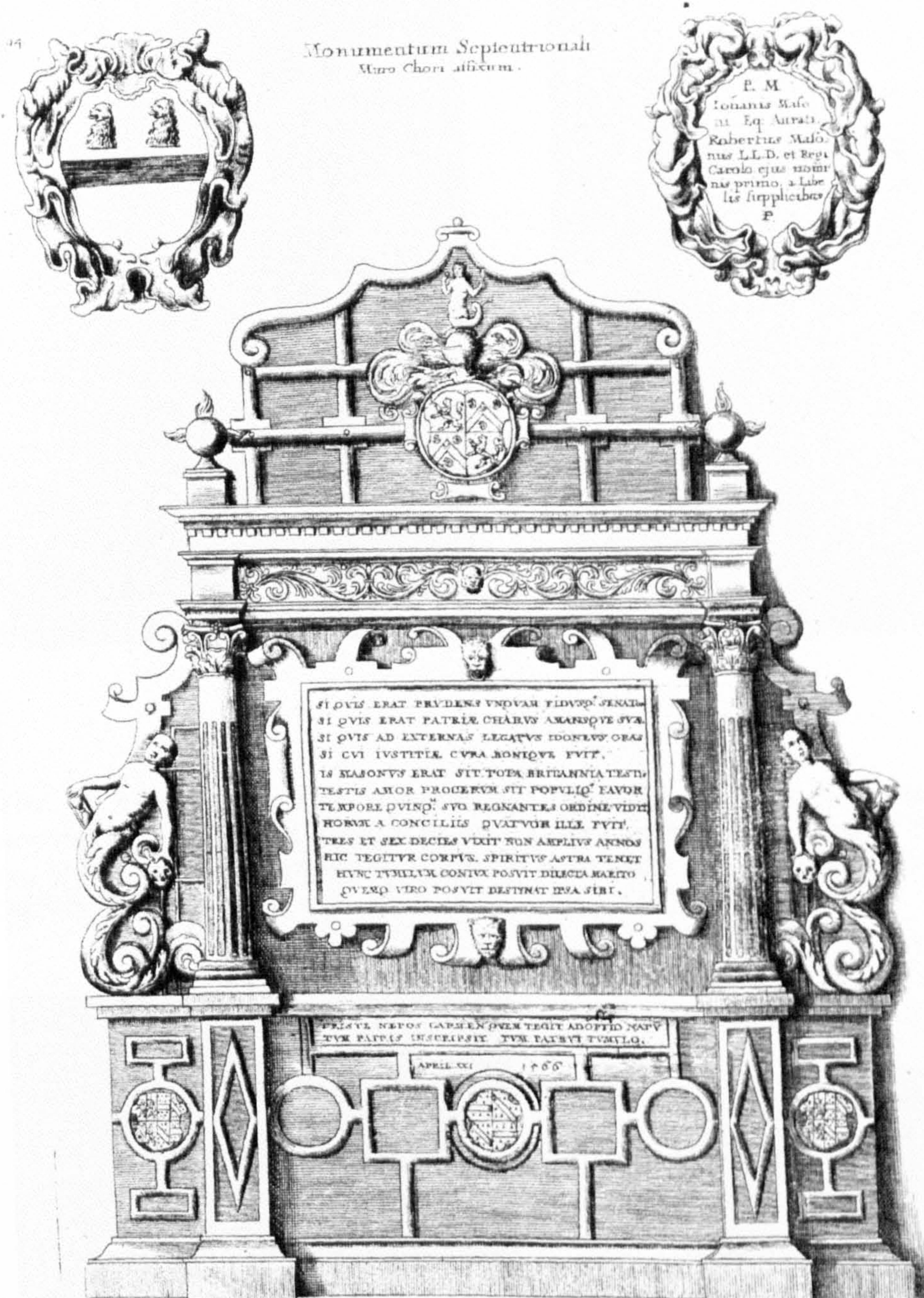


Plate 106. Tomb of John Mason, in old St Paul's Cathedral
(from Dugdale, 1658)



Plate 107. (a), above left, tomb of Ambrose Cave, Stanford-upon-Avon, Northamptonshire, (b) above right, tomb of Jane Covert, Slaugham, Sussex, (c) below left, tomb of Thomas Wylmer, Staverton, Northamptonshire, (d) below right, tomb of Ralph Scrope, Hambleden, Buckinghamshire

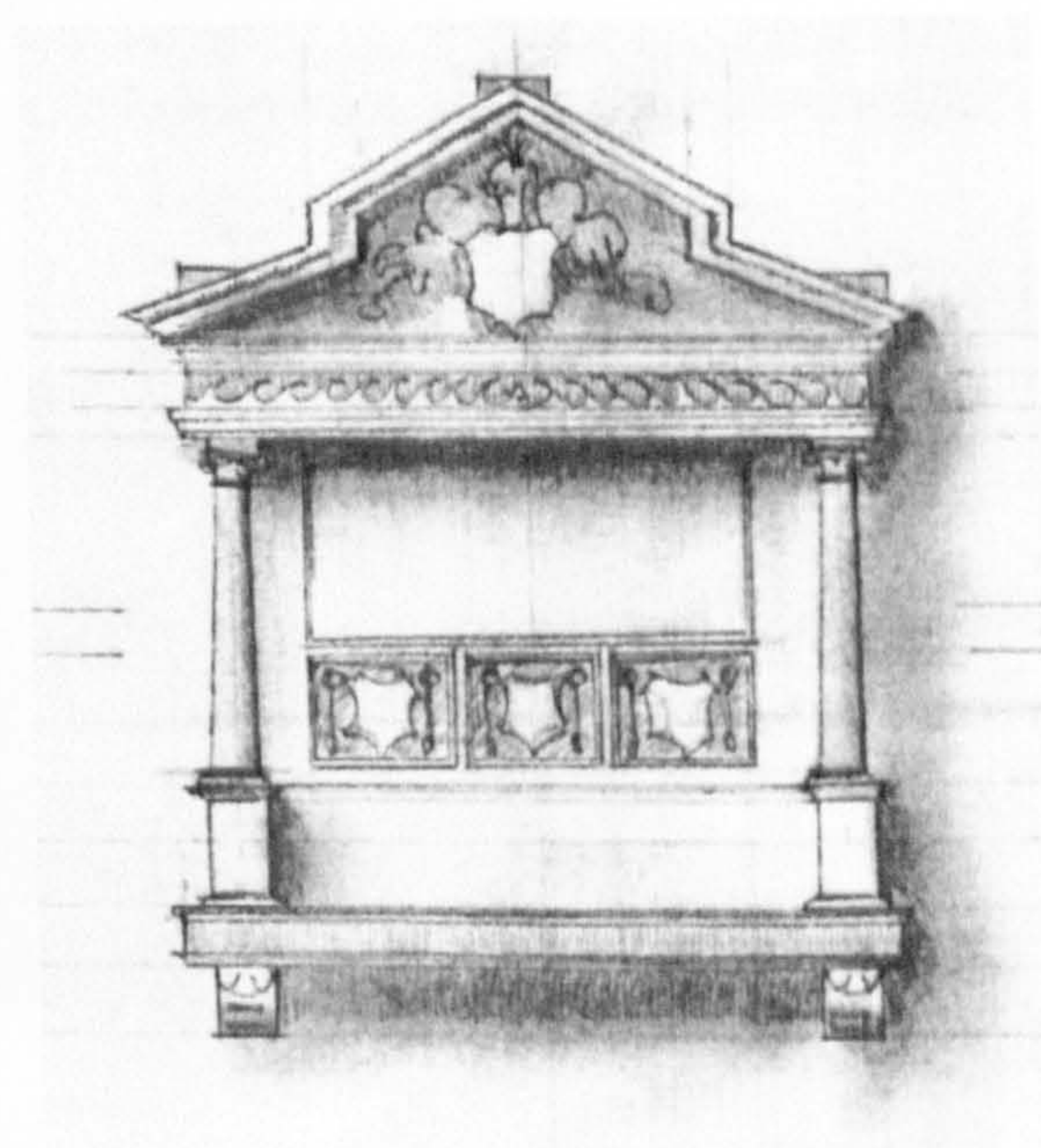
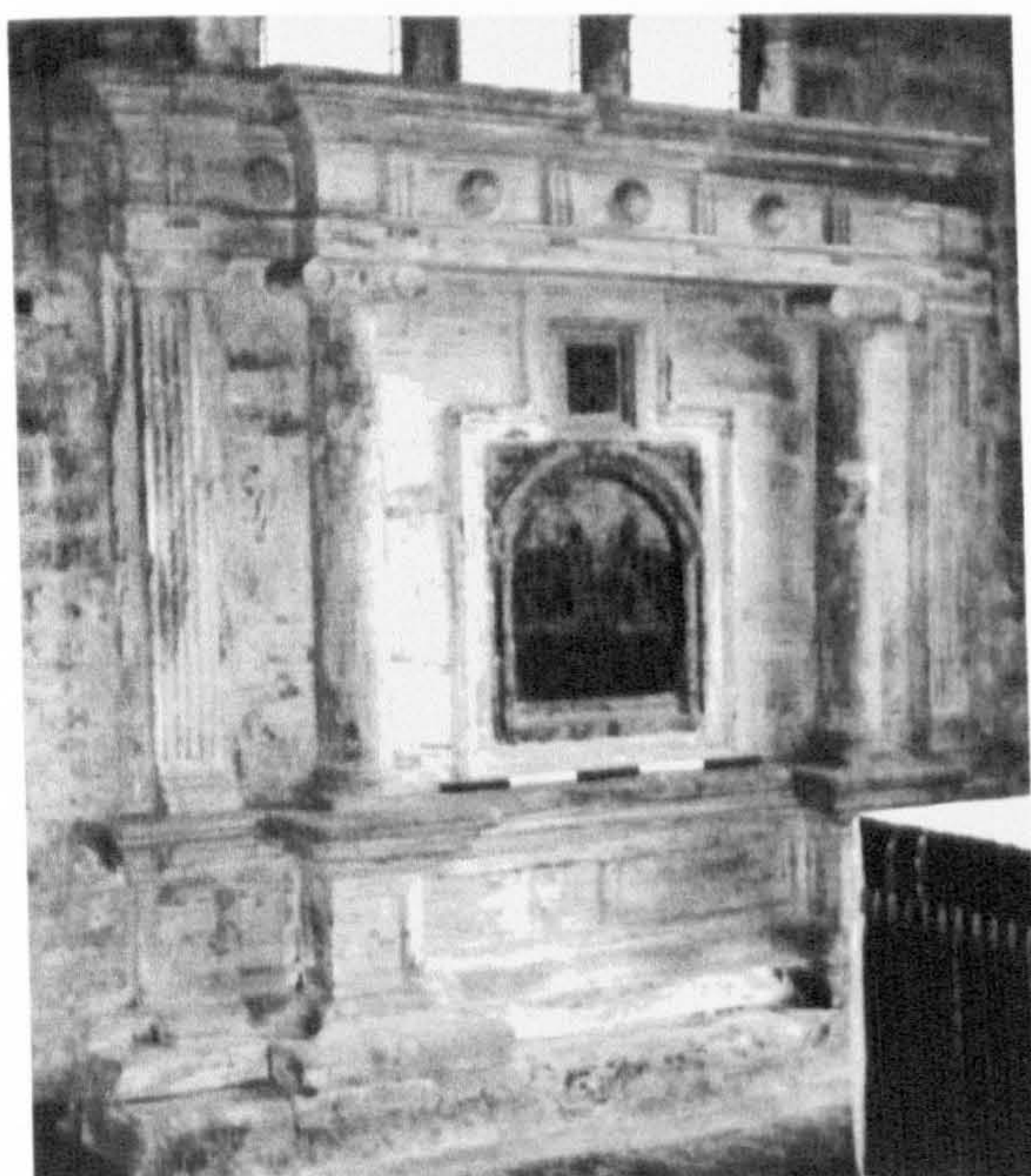




Plate 108. Tomb of Gabriel Fowler, Tilsworth, Bedfordshire



Plate 109. Tomb of Gabriel Fowler, Tilsworth



Plate 110. Tomb of Sir Anthony Chester, Chicheley, Buckinghamshire

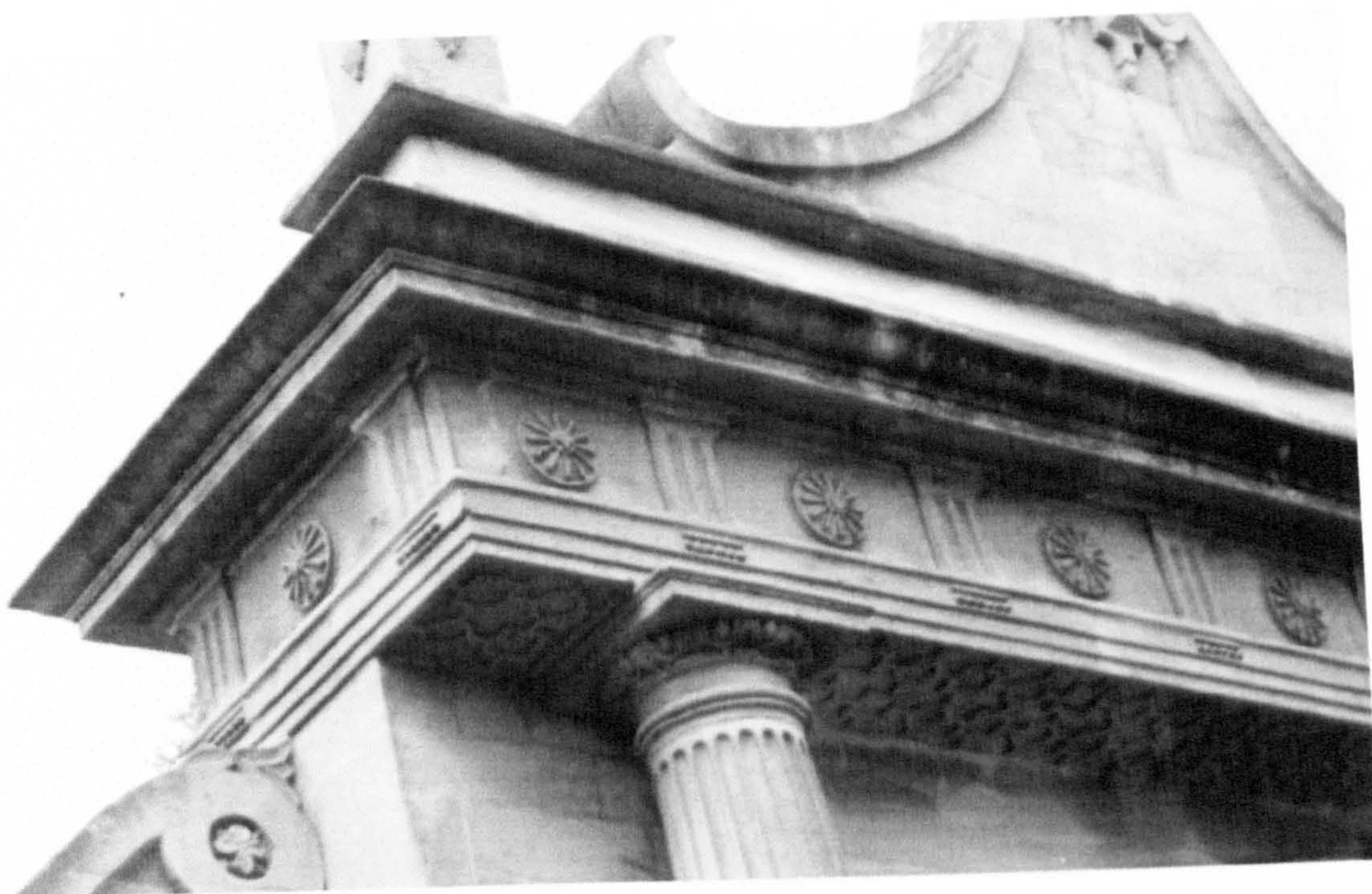


Plate 111. Gateway from Pytchley Old Hall, now at Overstone Park, Northampton



Plate 112. Doorcase at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire

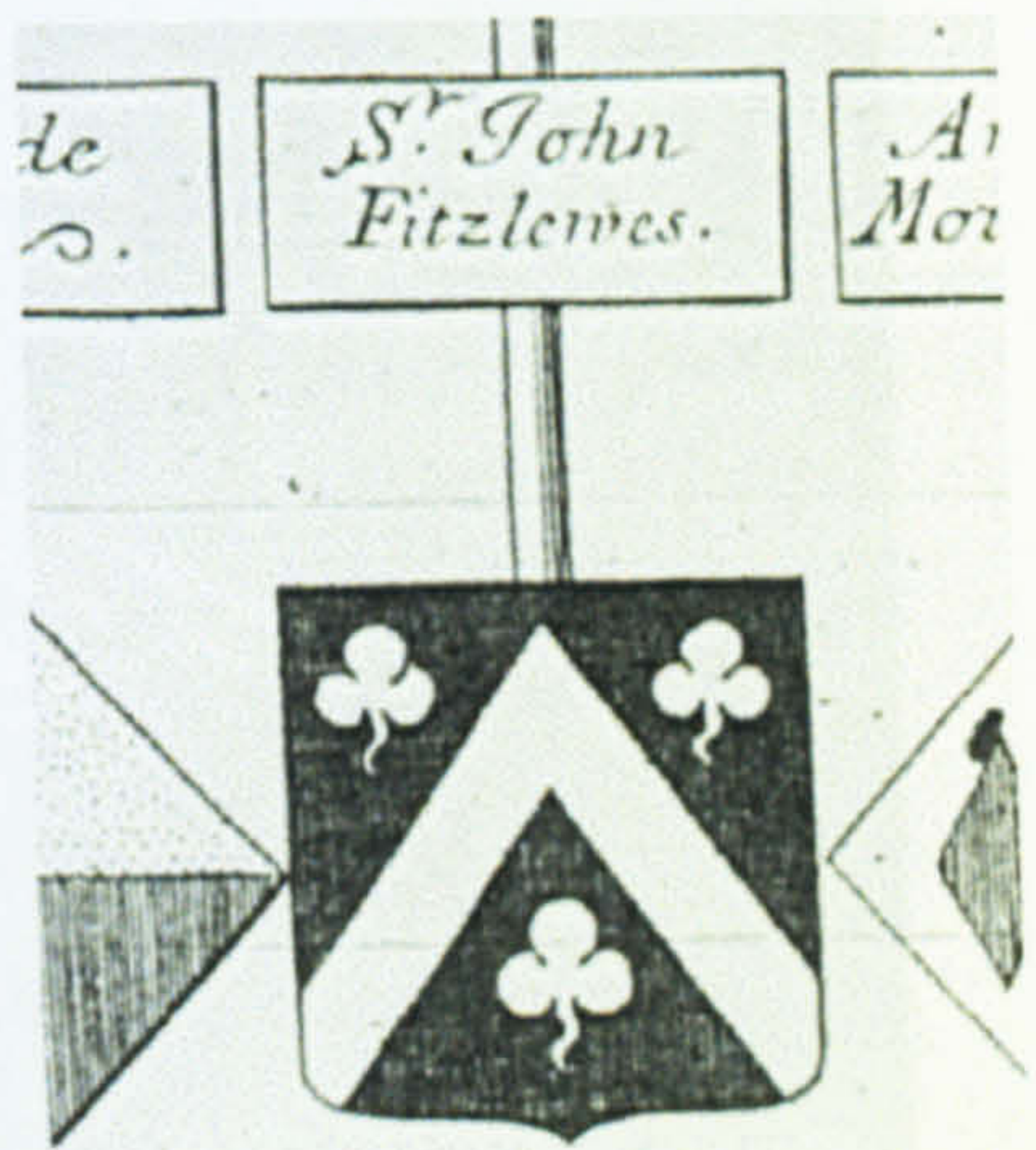
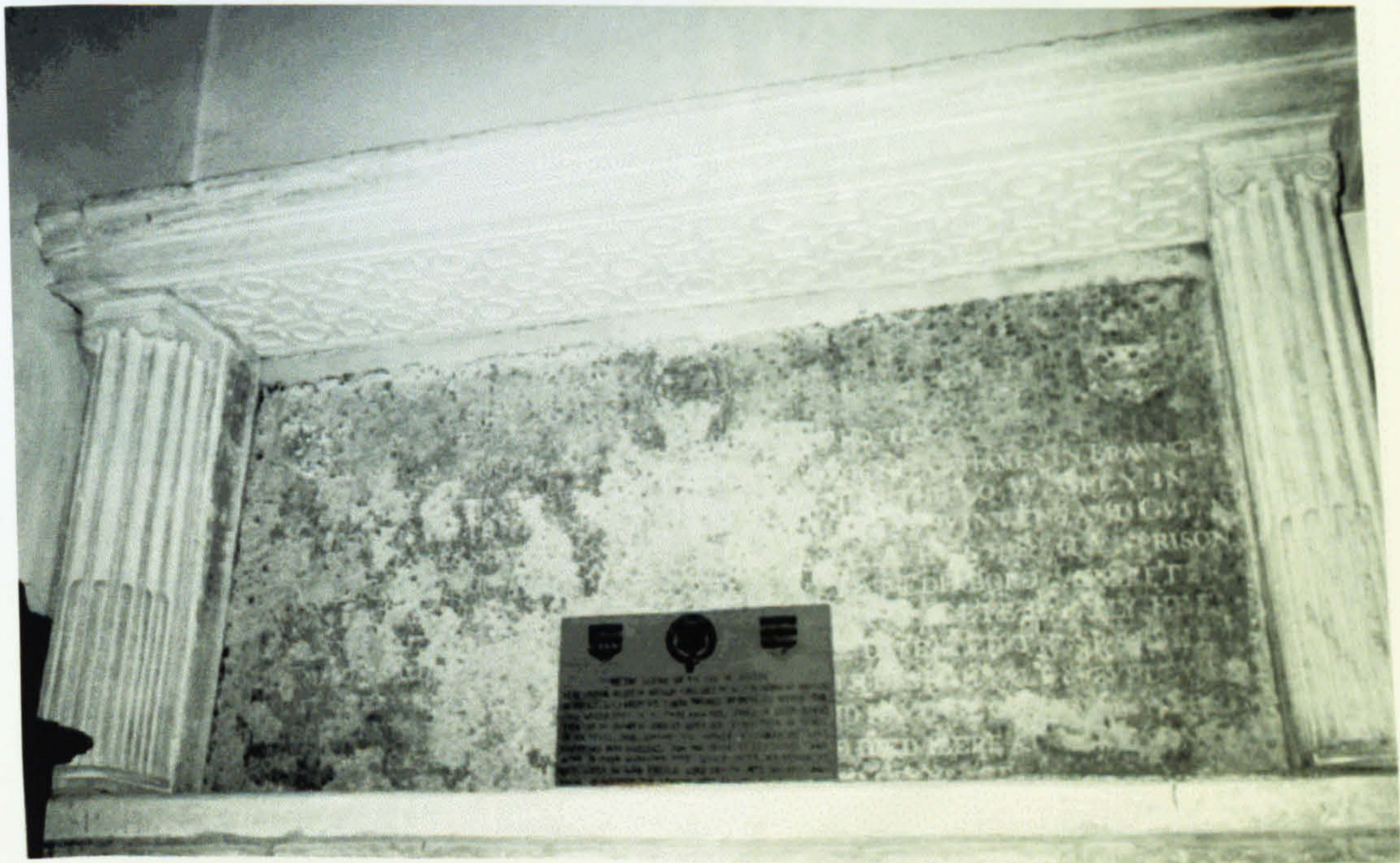


Plate 113. (a) Top left, tomb of the Wenman family, Twyford, Buckinghamshire, (b) top right, Lewis Mordaunt's maternal arms (from Halstead's *Succinct Genealogies*, 1685), (c) below, tomb of lord Grey of Wilton, Whaddon, Buckinghamshire



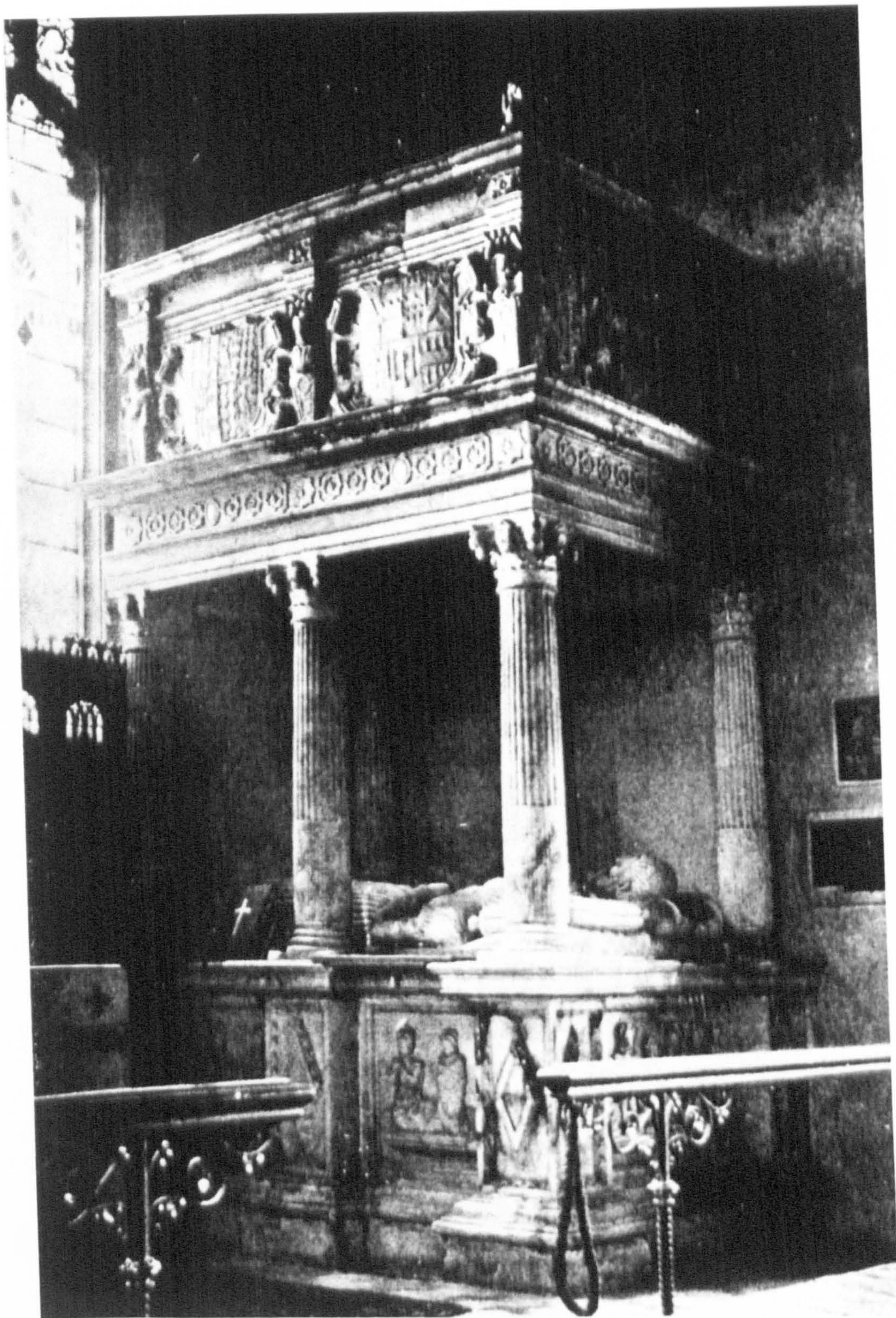


Plate 114. Tomb of John Throckmorton, Coughton Court, Warwickshire

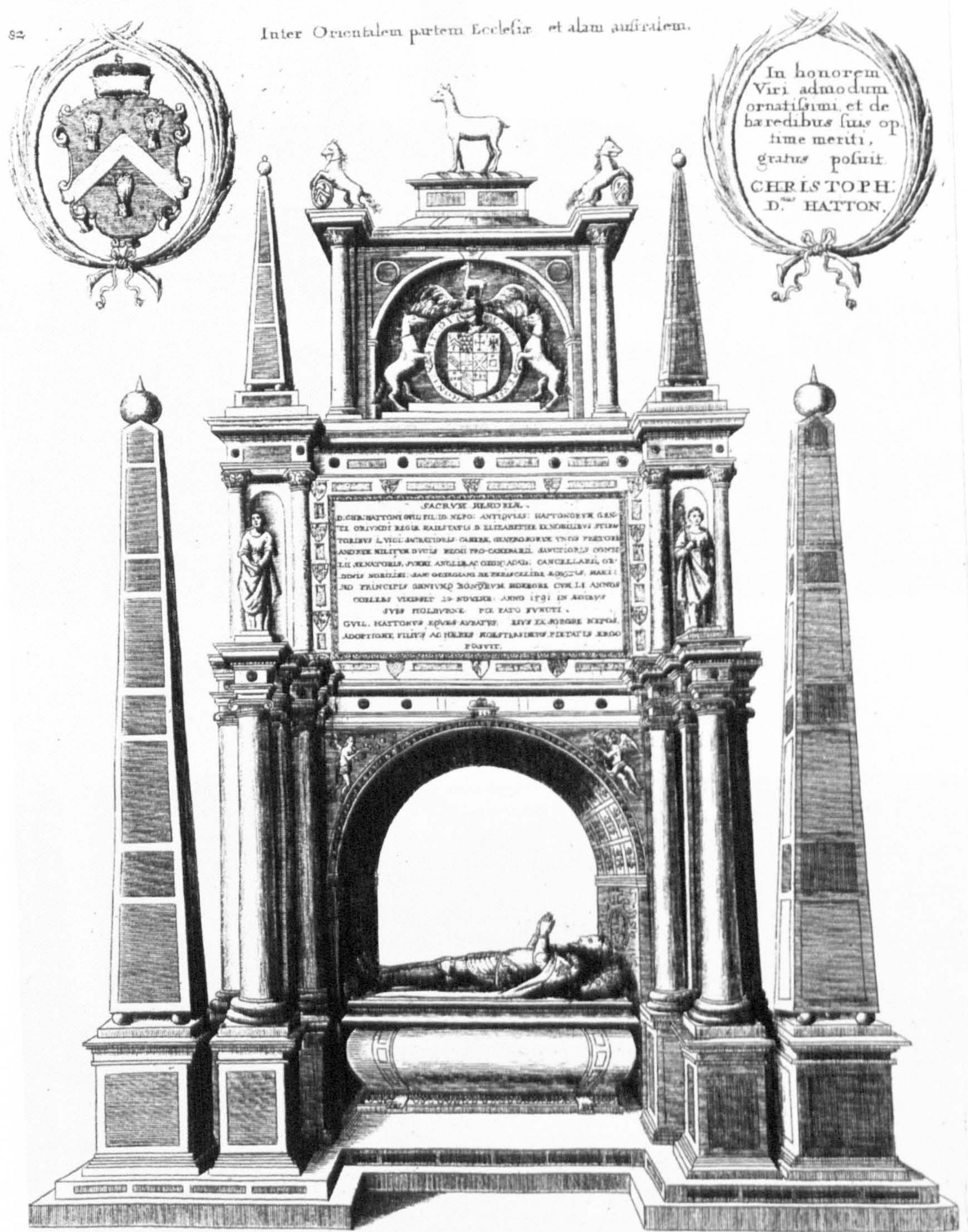


Plate 115. Tomb of Sir Christopher Hatton in old St Paul's Cathedral
(from Dugdale, 1658)

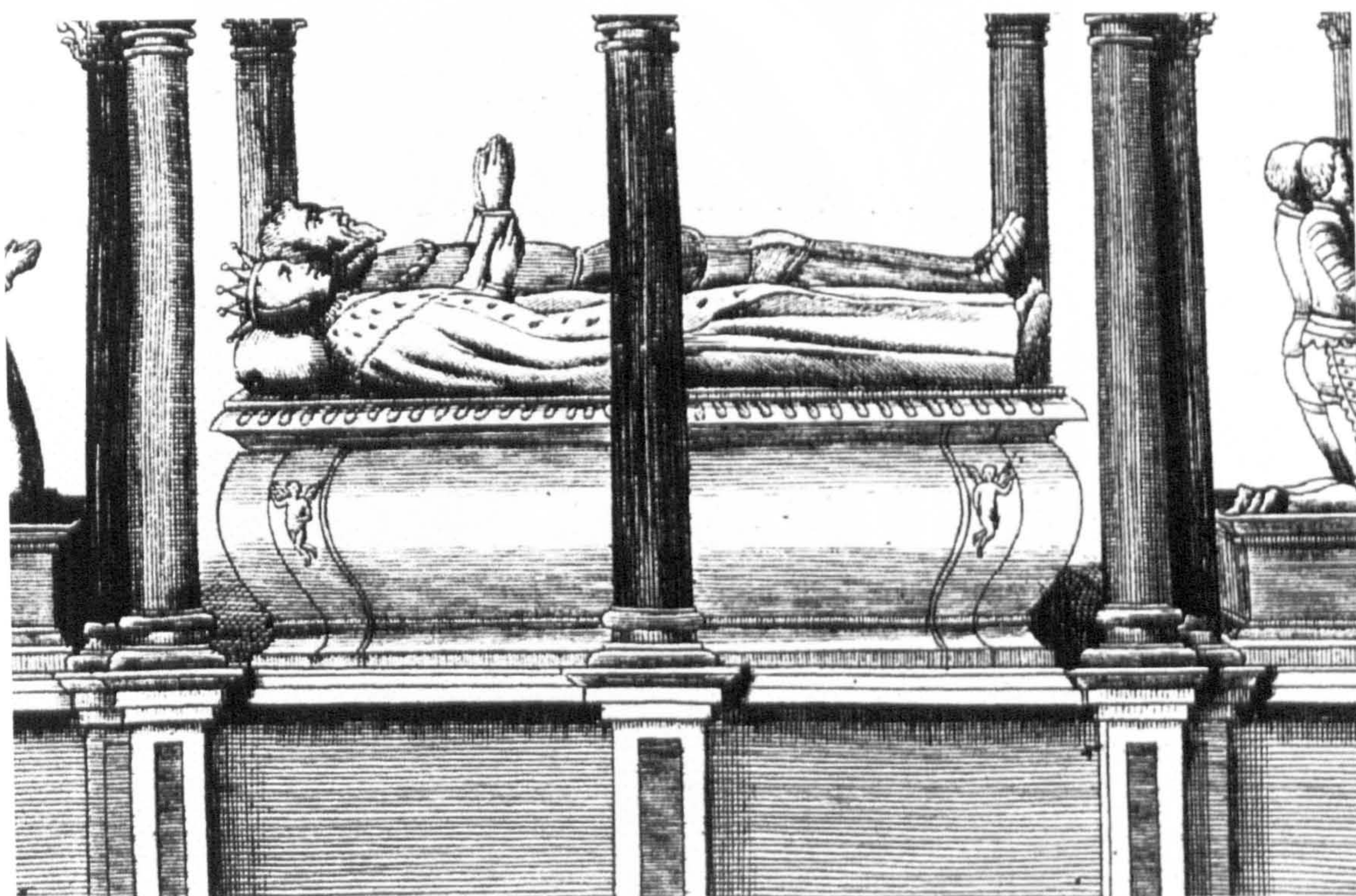


Plate 116. Tomb of William Herbert in old St Paul's Cathedral (detail)
(From Dugdale, 1658)

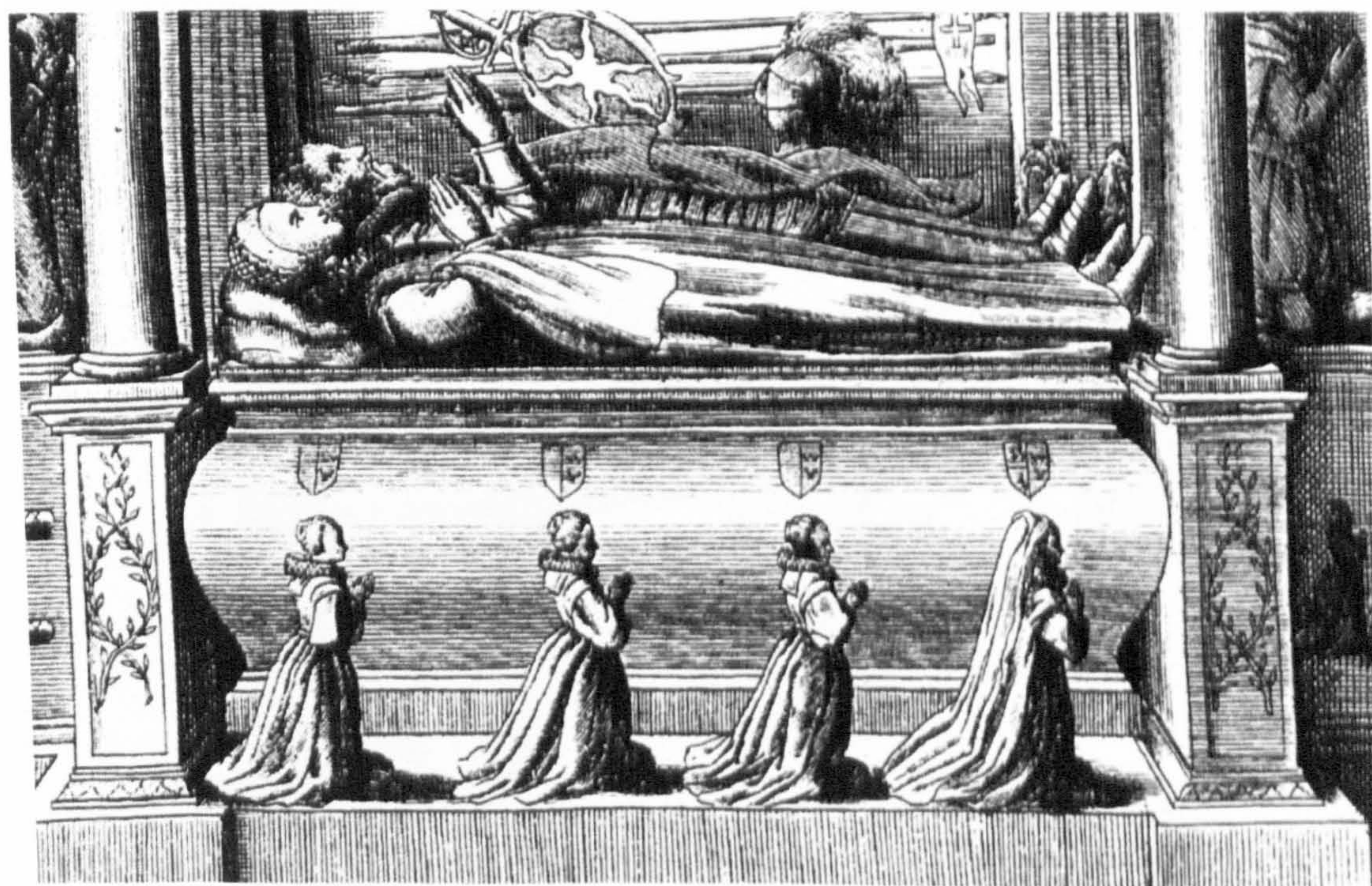


Plate 117. Tomb of William Cockayne in old St Paul's Cathedral (detail)
(From Dugdale, 1658)



Plate 118. Tomb of Sir John Spencer, Great Brington, Northamptonshire

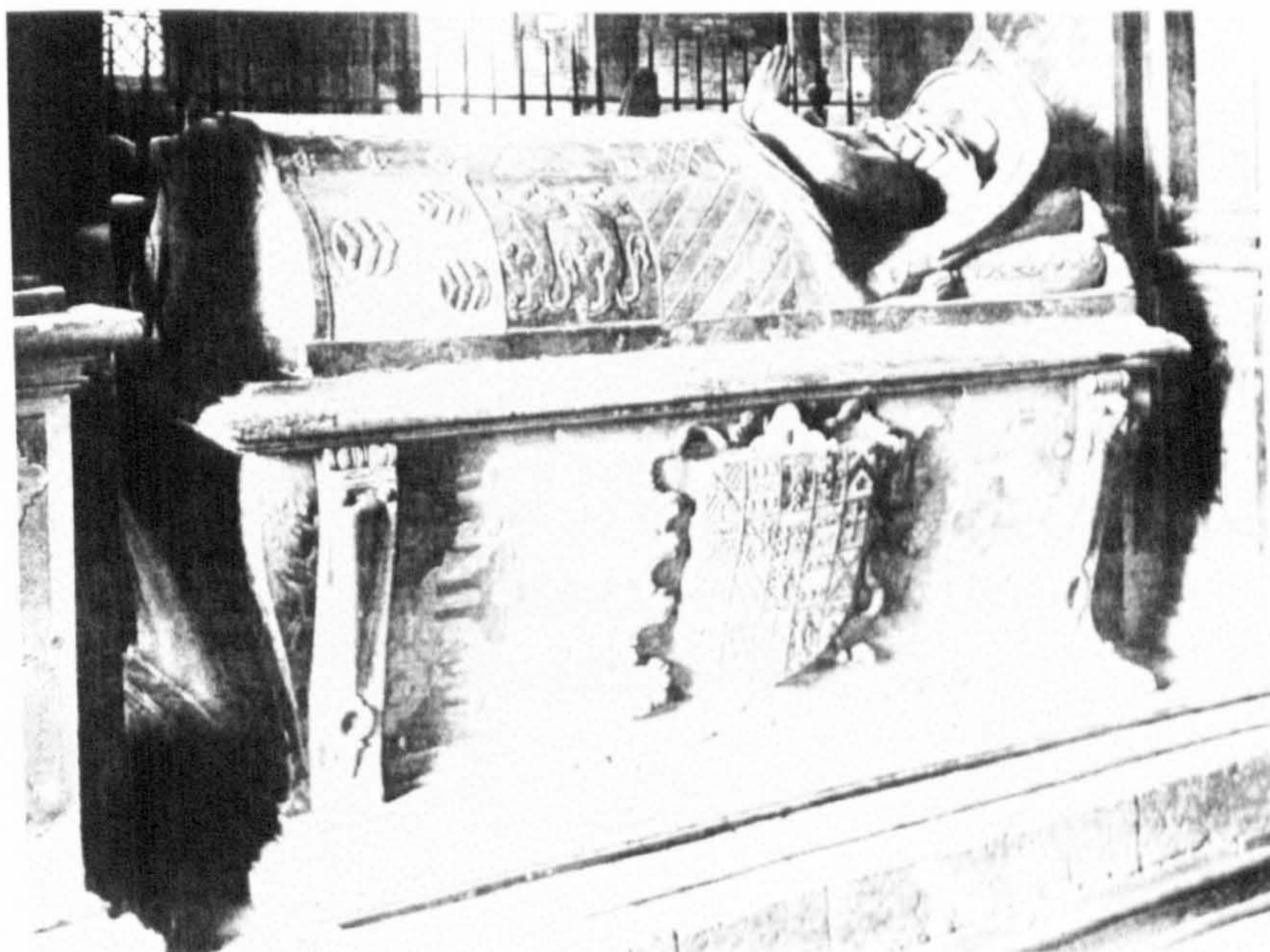


Plate 119. Tomb of Robert, first lord Spencer, Great Brington

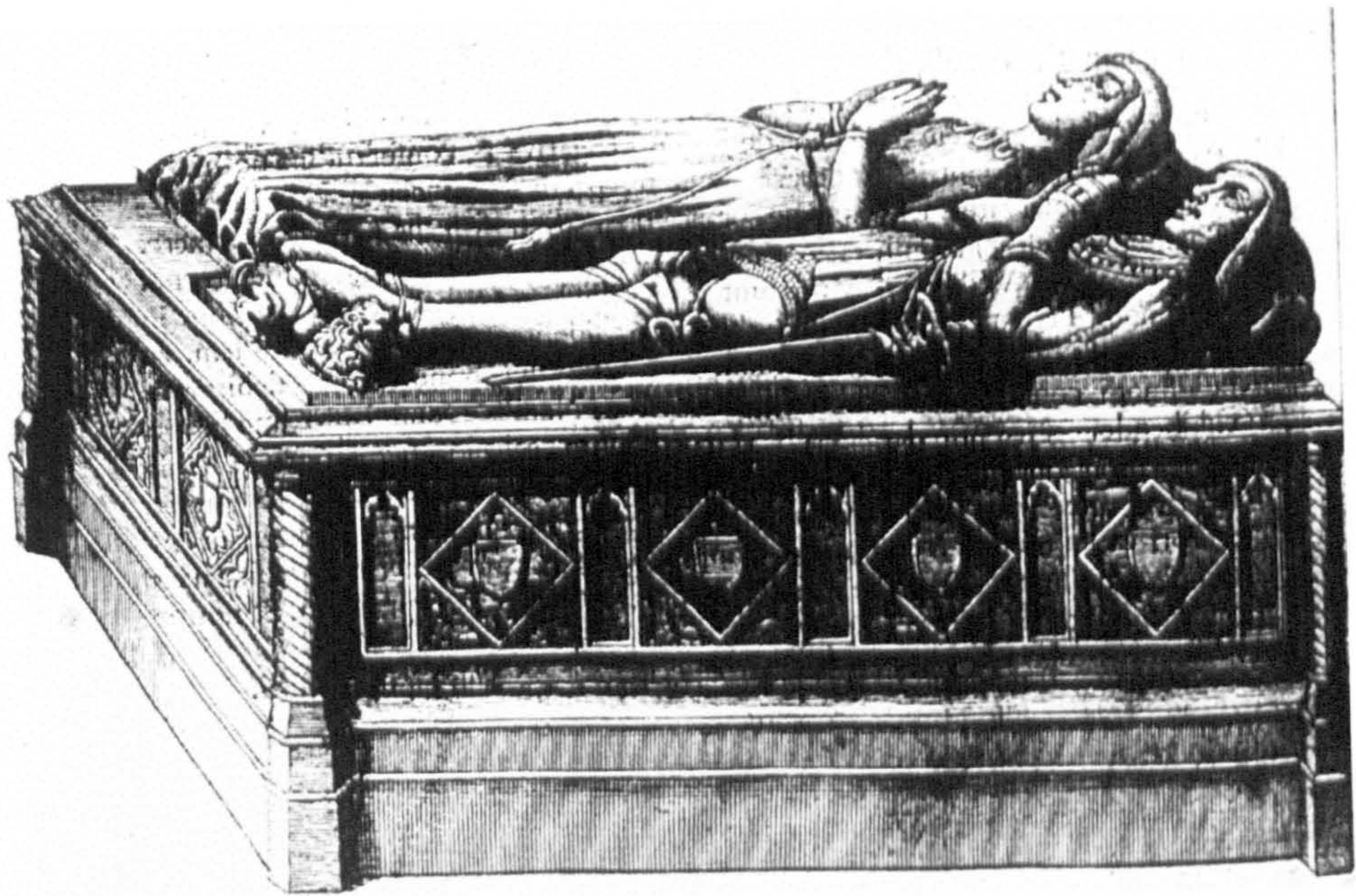
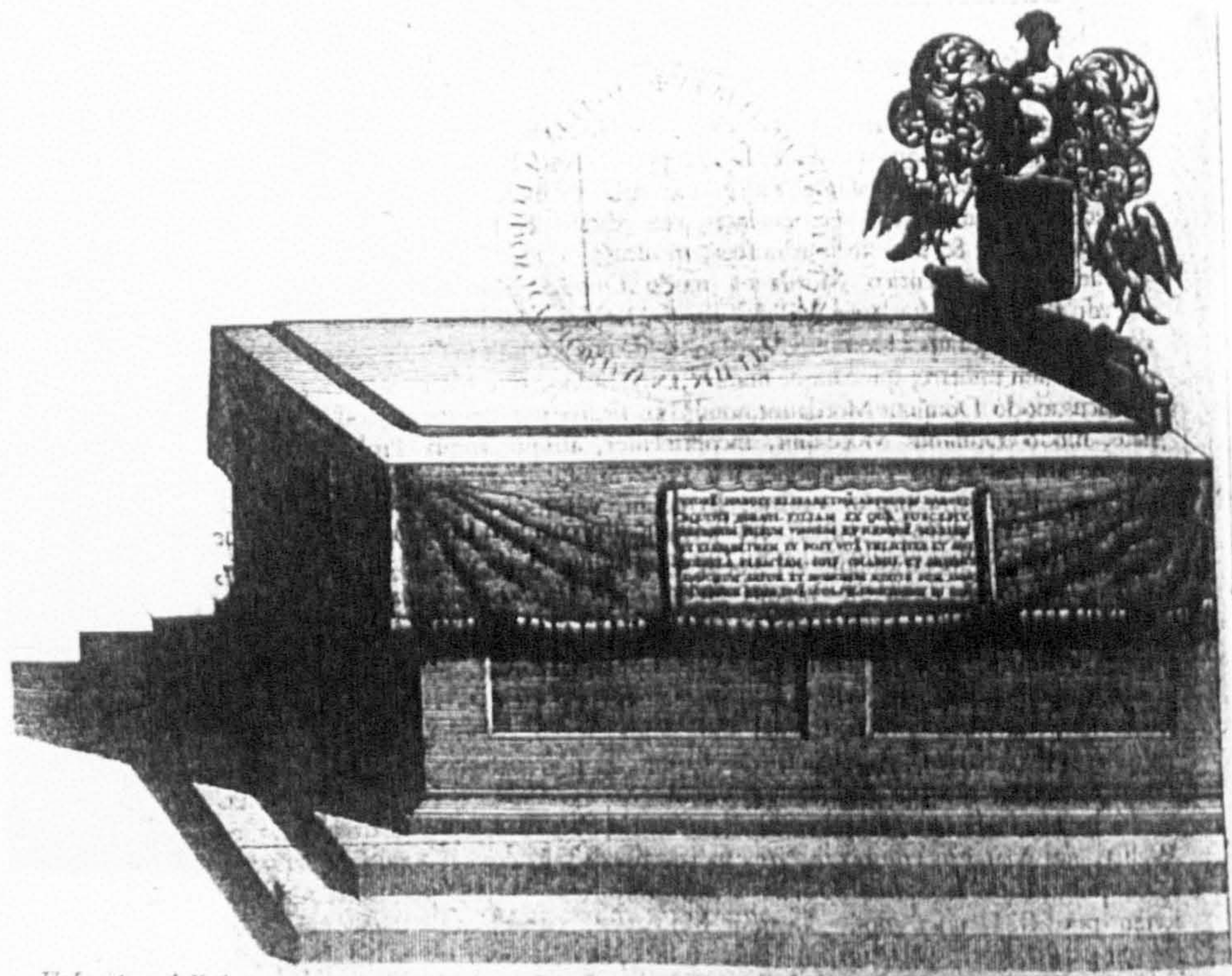


Plate 120. Tomb of Sir John Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire (*Succinct Genealogies*, 1685)



The Inscription on the North side of the Tomb

PIISSIMA. MEMORIA. LUDOVICI DNI MORDAUNT SACRUM.
DEPOSITUM LUDOVICI DNI MORDAUNT, SUB AVITA FIDE ET CERTA FELICES
RESURRECTIONIS SPE GLORIOSAM IESU CHRISTI EPIPHANIA HIC EXPECTAT.

Plate 121. Tomb of Lewis, third lord Mordaunt, Turvey (*Succinct Genealogies*, 1685)

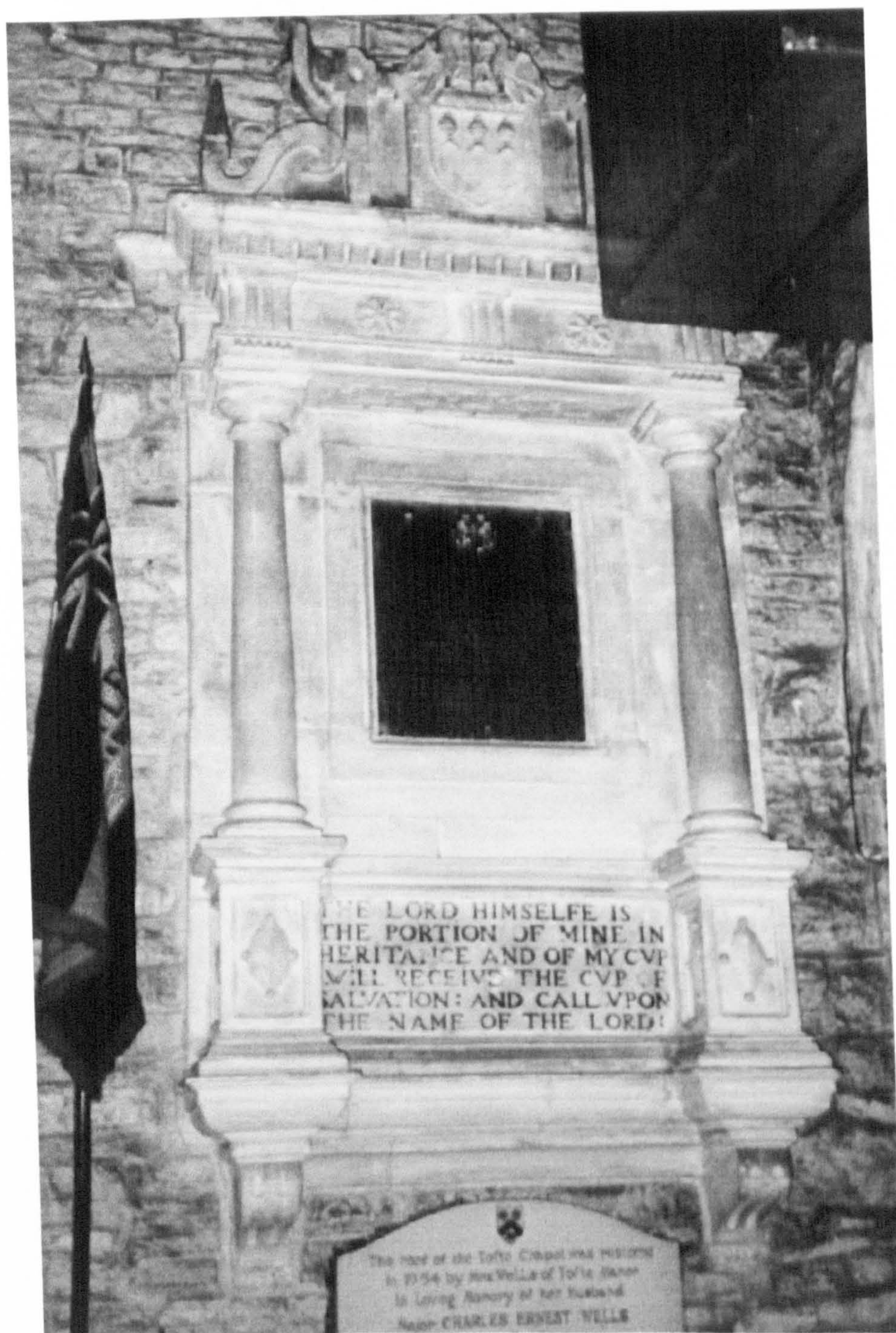


Plate 122. Cenotaph of the Boteler family, Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire

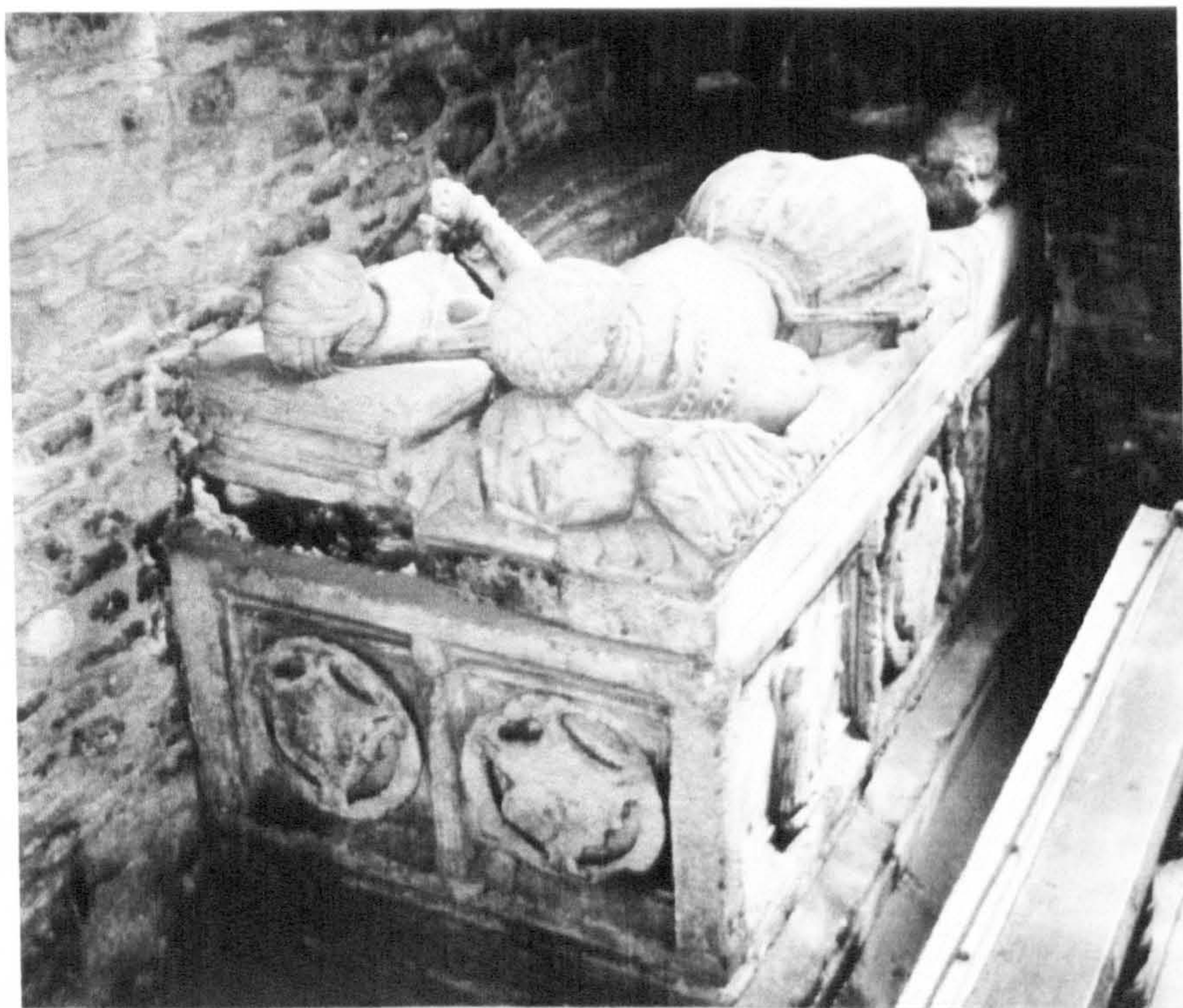


Plate 123. Tomb of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire



Plate 124. Tomb of Francis Catesby, Hardmead, Buckinghamshire

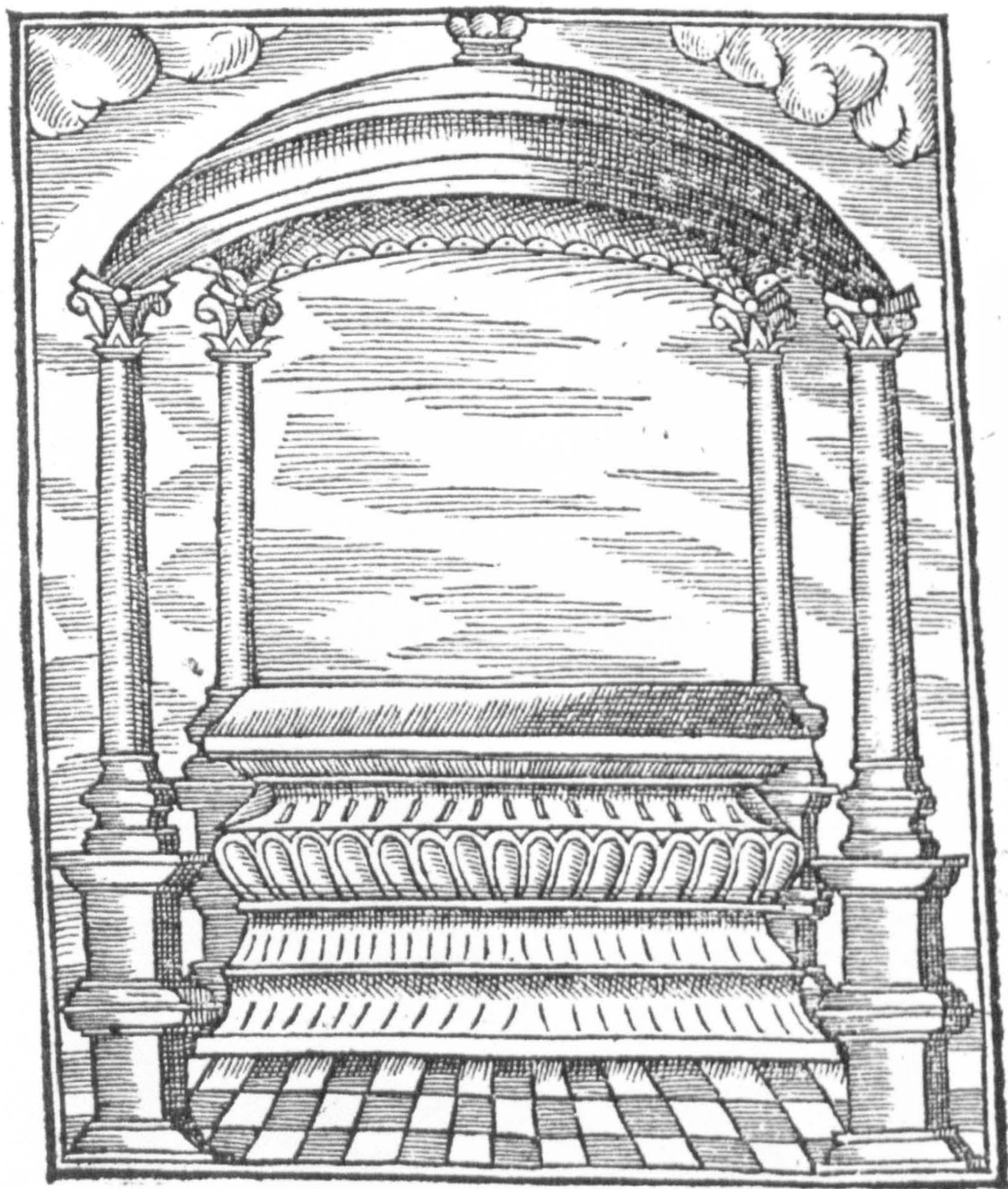


Plate 125. Tomb of Sir Thomas Smith (destroyed) at Theydon, Essex
(From Harvey's *Valdinatis Smithus*, 1578)

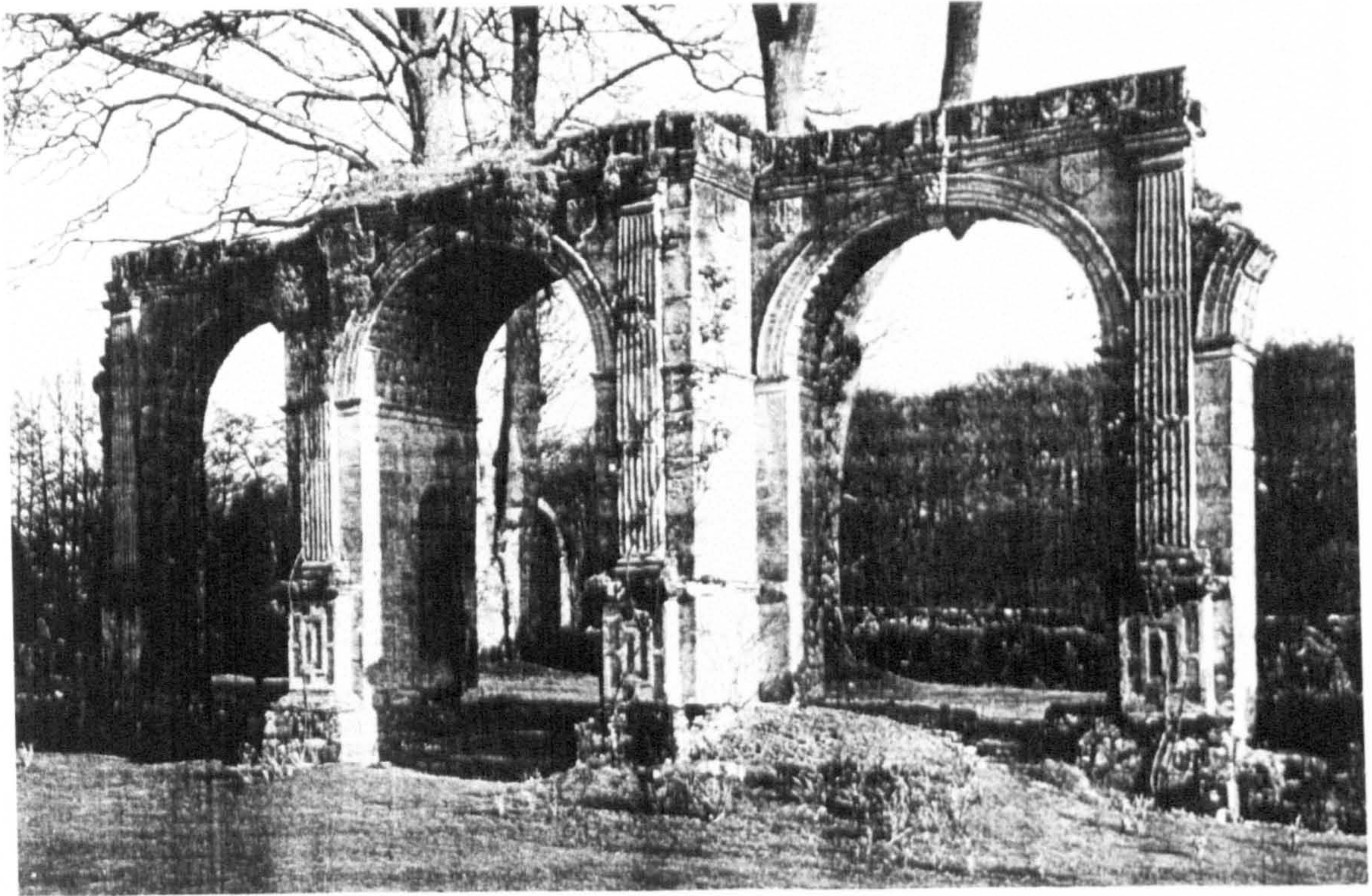


Plate 126. Ruins of Slaugham Place, Sussex

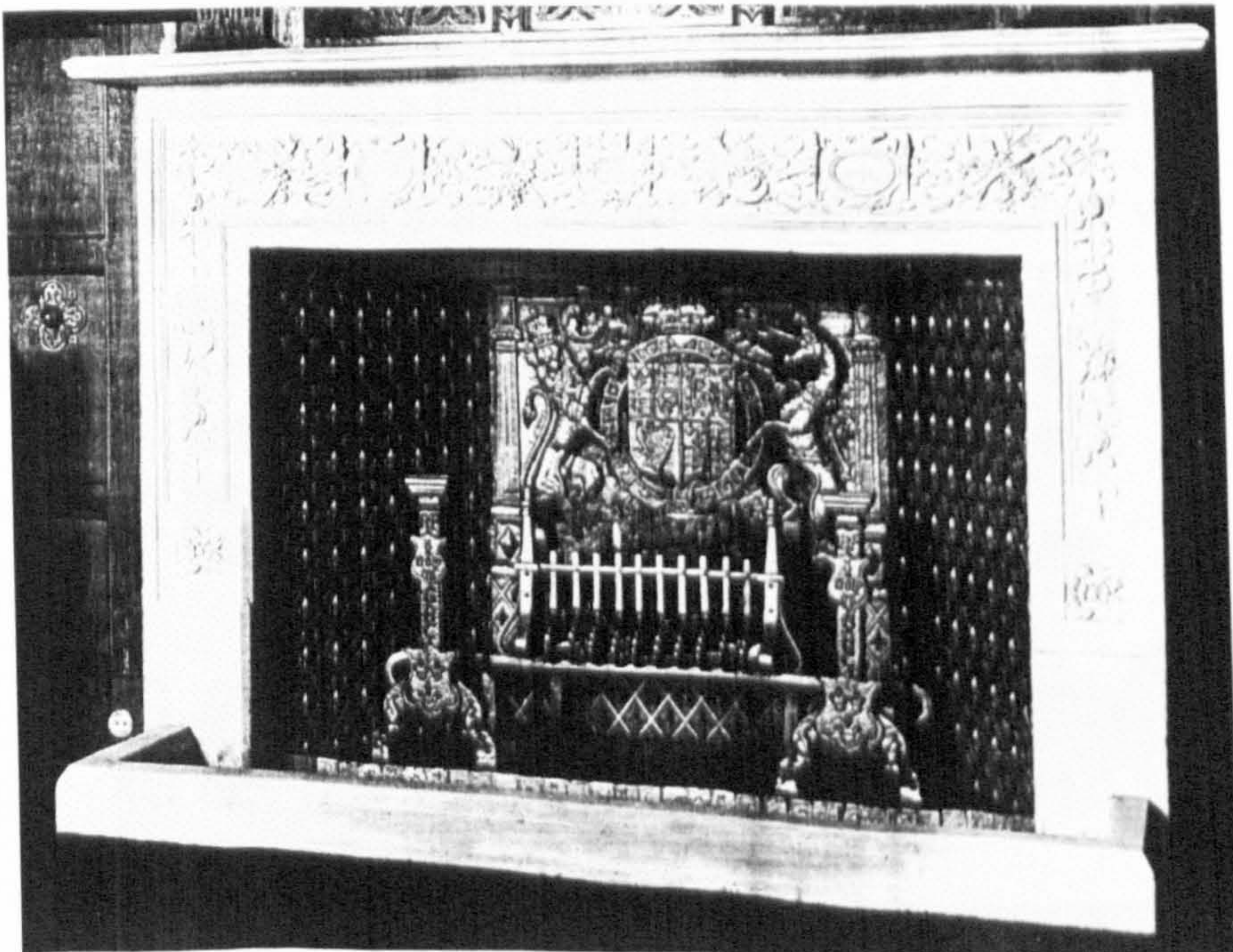


Plate 127. Fire surround from Cuckfield Park, Sussex



Hic iacet Anthonius Cave Armiger quondam Mercator Stapule
 Calicie dominus de Chicheley qui obiit nono die Septembris An^o
 dni Millesimo CCCCL^o Liiij^o Cuius animæ ppicietur deus amen

Plate 128. Brass from the tomb of Anthony Cave, Chicheley, Buckinghamshire

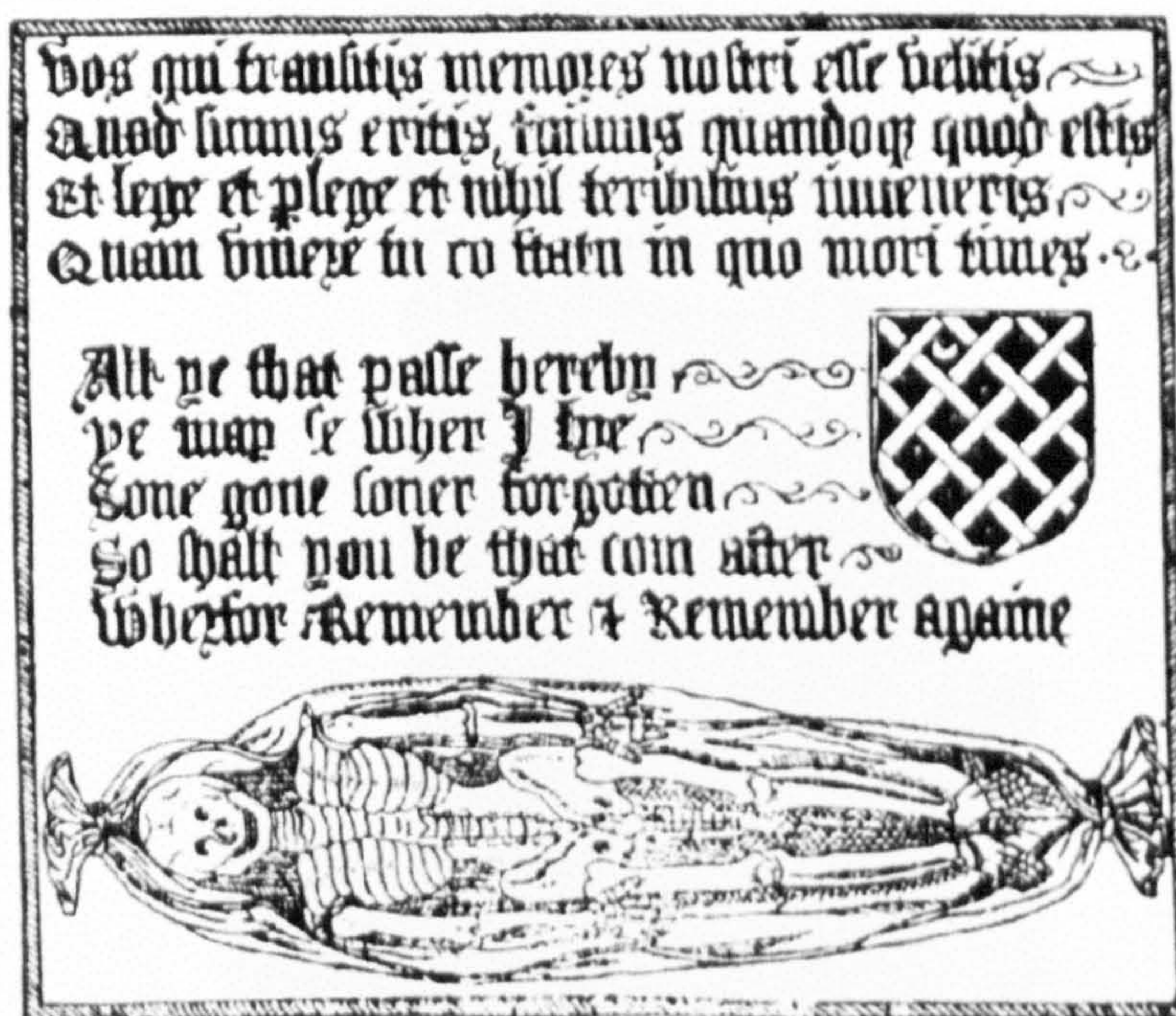


Plate 129. Mural brass from the Cave tomb, Chicheley



Plate 130. Haynes Grange, Bedfordshire



Plate 131. Haynes Grange, before repair in the 1980s



Plate 132. Tomb of John, first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire

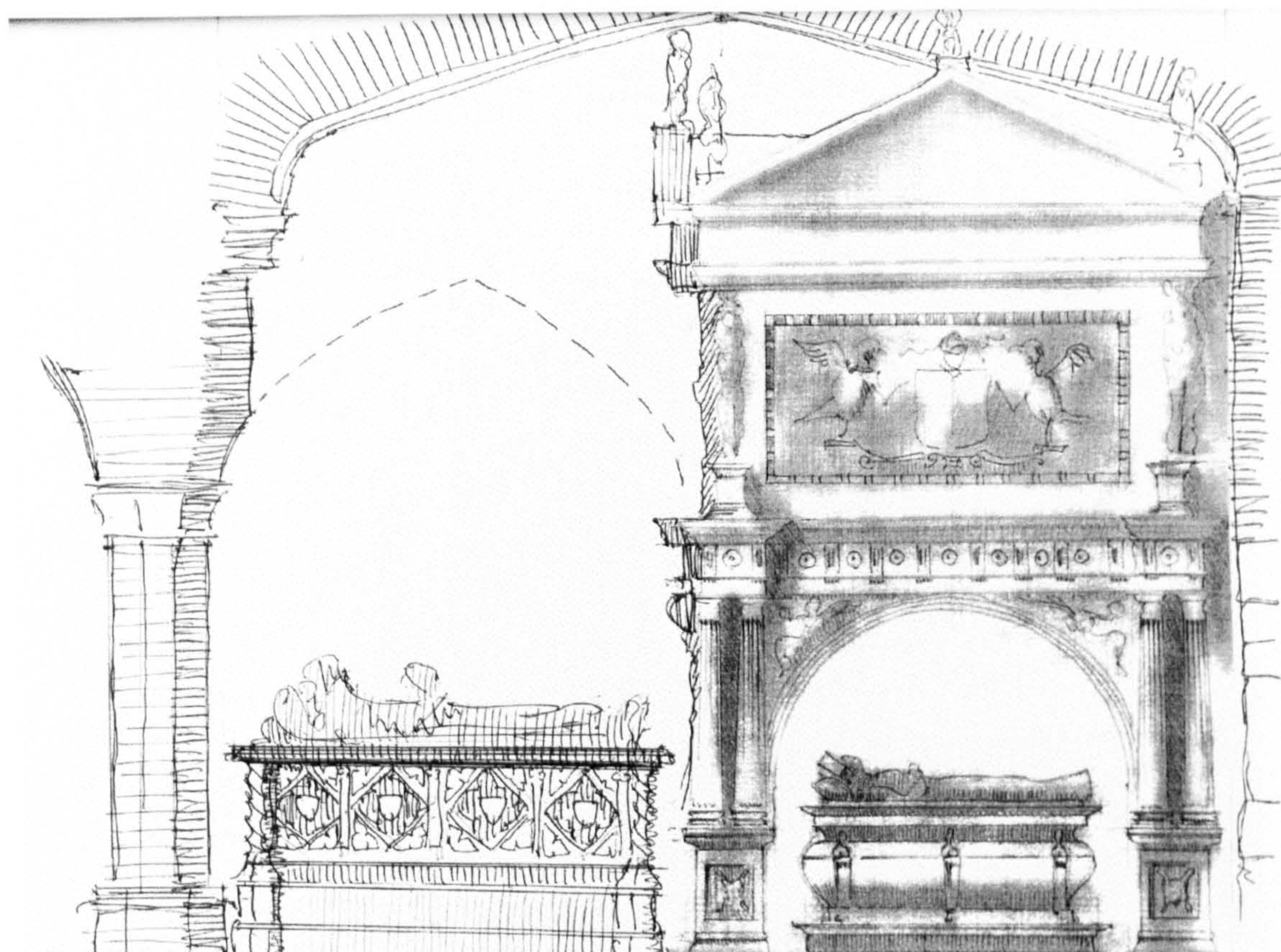


Plate 133. Sketch diagram showing the possible sequence of events in Turvey Church, Bedfordshire, as the tombs of Sir John Mordaunt (d.1504), and the first lord Mordaunt (d.1562) were inserted into the wall between the chancel and the south chapel.

The view is from the south chapel, looking northwards. Sir John Mordaunt's tomb (left) may have been inserted into a smaller arch or opening, shown by a pecked line. When the later tomb was inserted, the arch had to be enlarged. Its shape is open to speculation, but is shown here as a depressed or Tudor arch, because a conventional pointed arch would have been taller than the available wall space above.

It is possible that the tomb of the first lord Mordaunt originally contained one or more inscriptions on its west elevation, overlooking the tomb of Sir John Mordaunt.

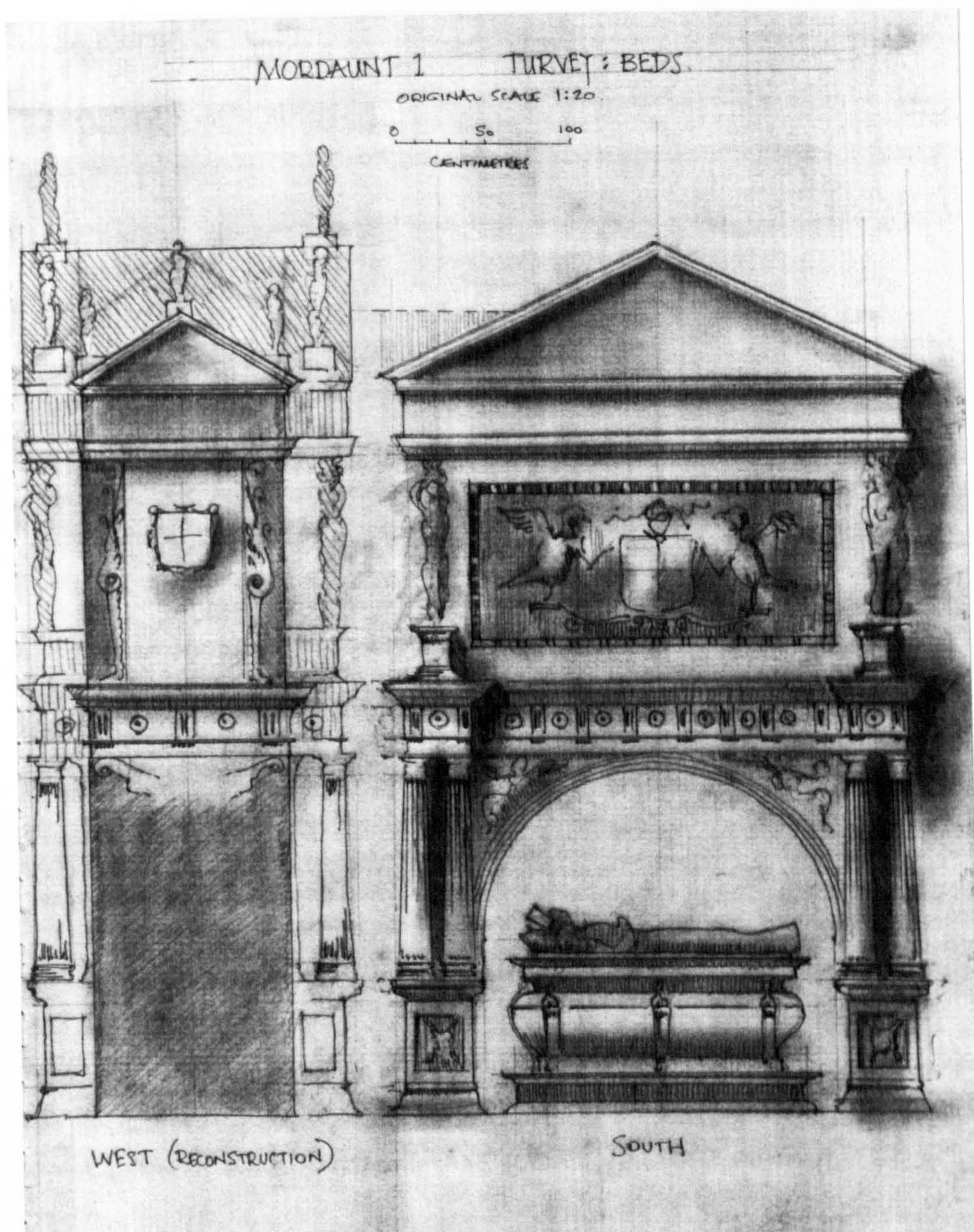


Plate 134. Measured drawing of the south elevation of the tomb of John, first lord Mordaunt, at Turvey, Bedfordshire, with a reconstruction (left) of the damaged west elevation, based on nineteenth century drawings and on remaining fragments visible on the tomb itself..

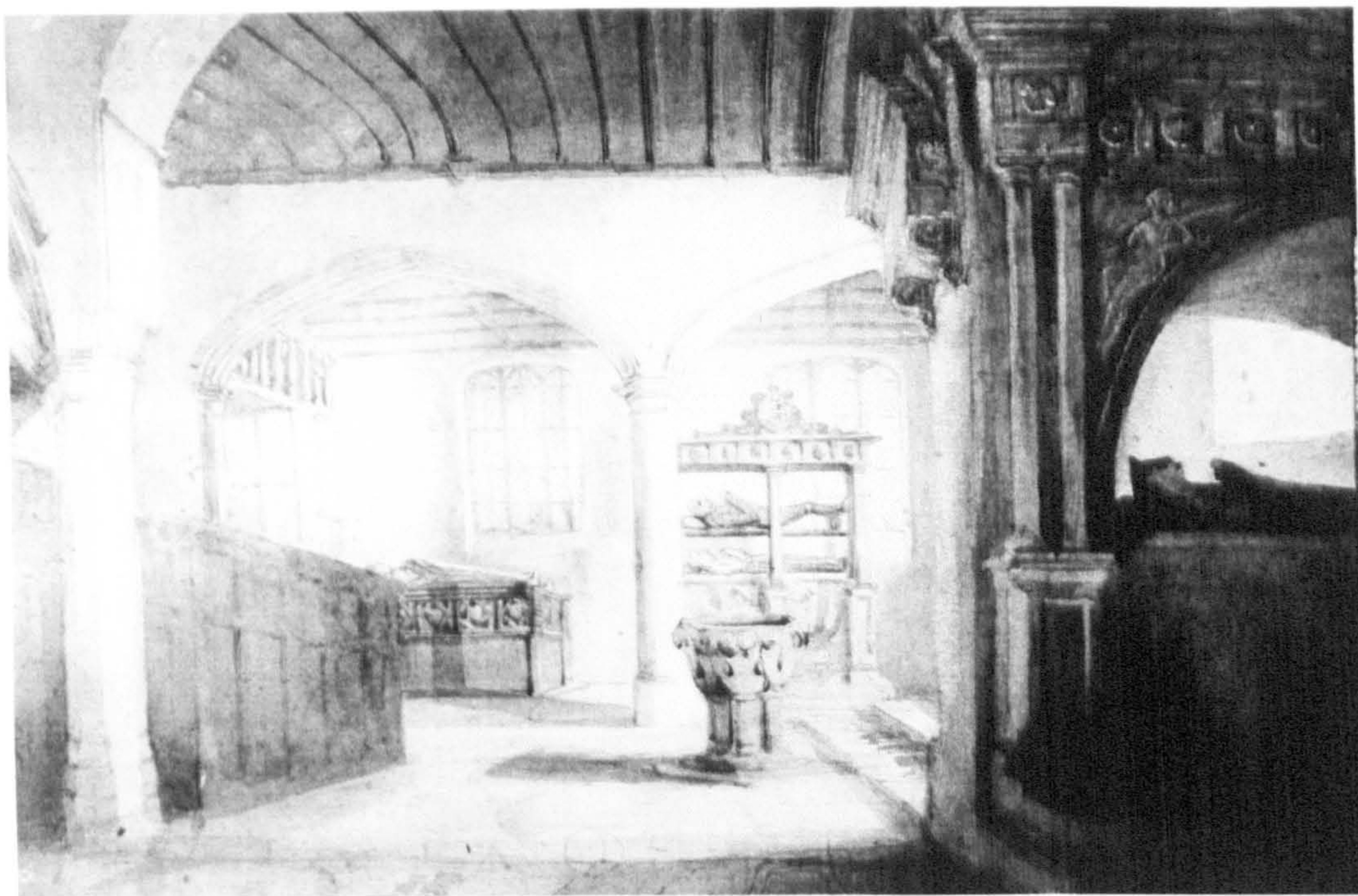


Plate 135. Drawing of the interior of Turvey Church, looking north from the chapel, by John Burgon before the 1850s restoration

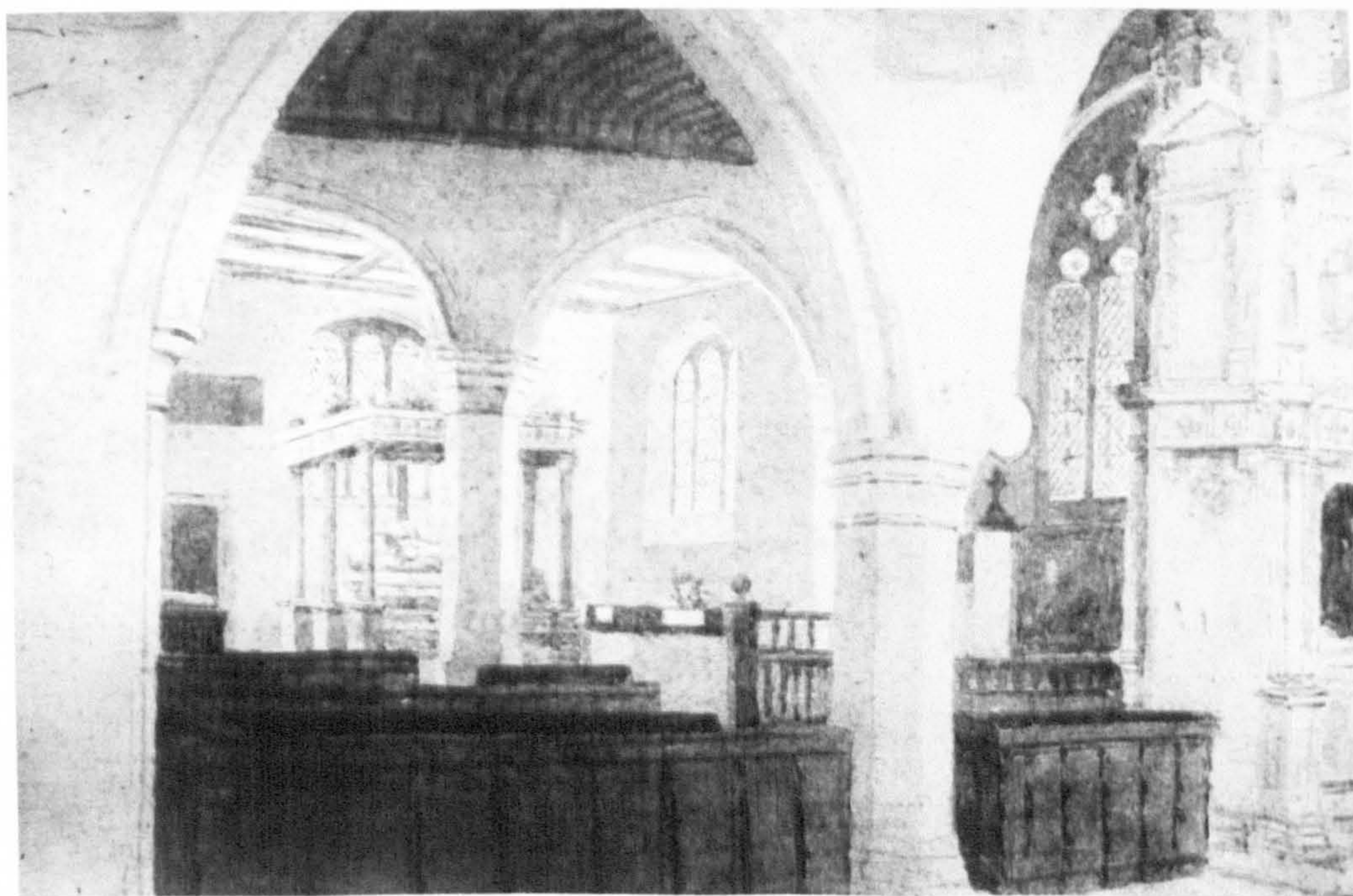


Plate 136. Drawing of the interior of Turvey Church, looking north-east from the south aisle, by John Burgon before the 1850s restoration



Plate 137. West elevation of the tomb of John, second lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire



Plate 138. Sarcophagus, tomb of John, second lord Mordaunt, Turvey

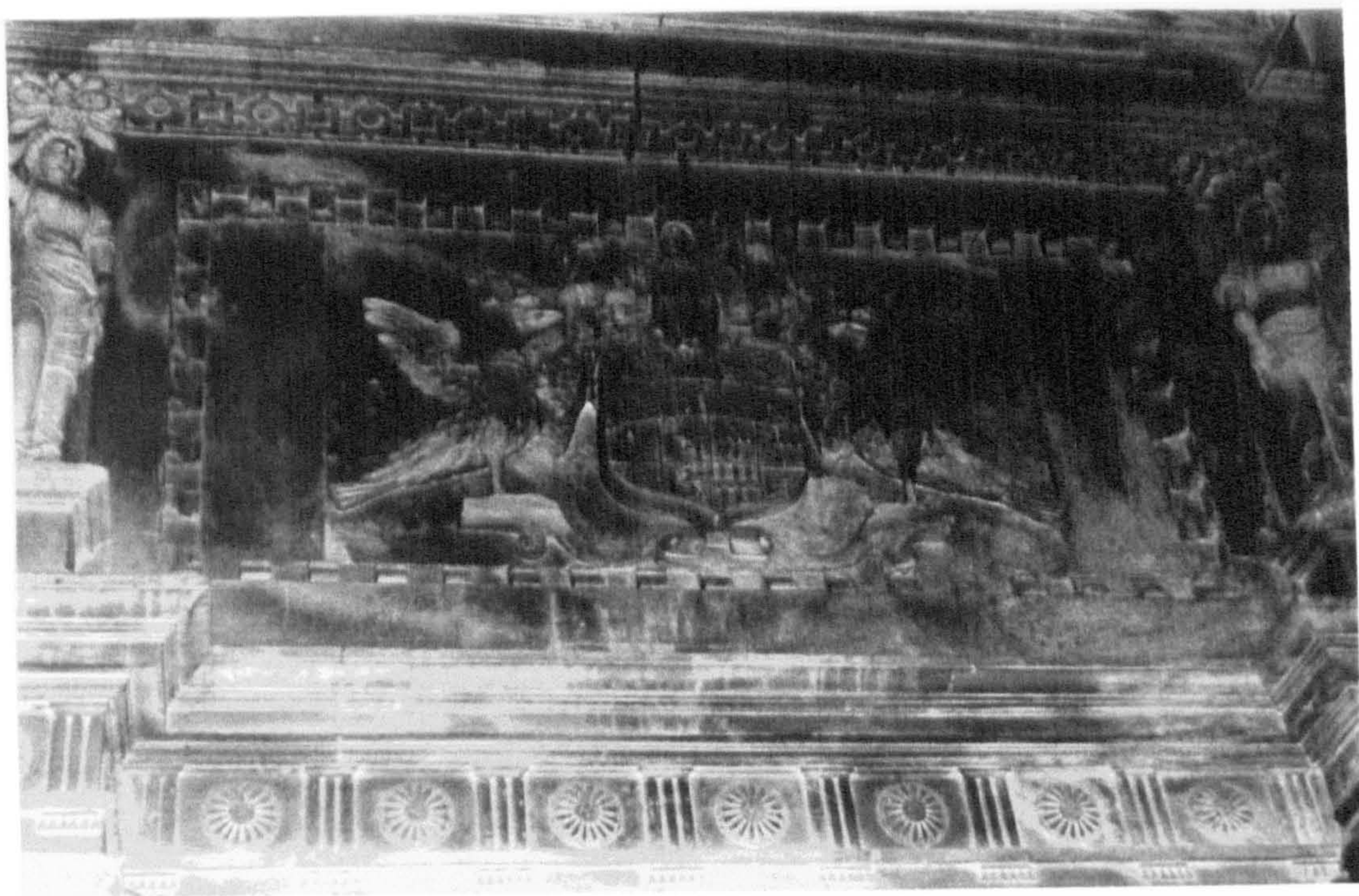


Plate 139. Heraldic panel on the south elevation of the tomb of John, first lord Mordaunt, Turvey, Bedfordshire



Plate 140. Heraldic panel on the north elevation of the tomb of John, first lord Mordaunt